NATIONAL REVIEW

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January 25, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The 'Times' Slays A Dragon

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The Firing of Herbert Fuchs

L. BRENT BOZELL

Mill's 'On Liberty' Reconsidered

RUSSELL KIRK

Articles and Reviews by . . . . RICHARD M. WEAVER

ROBERT PHELPS · ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN · FREDA UTLEY

JAMES BURNHAM · JONATHAN MITCHELL · SAM M. JONES

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Bricker Resolution

A new attempt to get favorable Senate action on the somewhat battered Bricker Amendment is under consideration. The Resolution is now in the Judiciary Committee, but a request by Senator Bricker would probably meet enough support to send it to the Floor. There is, however, little chance of early approval unless an overwhelming public demand is reflected in Senatorial mail.

Soil Bank Origins

If the traditionally Democratic industrial worker is entitled to an income whether he works or not (the guaranteed annual wage), why discriminate against the traditionally Republican farmer? This was the argument hammered home by Republican farm leaders to split the Eisenhower-Benson resistance to agricultural subsidies. The upshot was the present Administration's soil bank program. Democrats contend that the White House lifted their plan bodily. But the GOP asserts that the Republican program differs from New Deal counterparts in being "economically sound." They claim that surpluses already paid for can conceivably be cut down to manageable size, if the farmer uses his certificates to draw on warehoused grain for feed. But non-partisan estimates of the added cost of the program range from four hundred million to a billion dollars.

The Spending Look

The question of Santa Claus' identity will be hotly contested from now to November, as both the Administration and the Democratic congressional majority are aspirants for the title. A little present for everybody is on the political-legislative agenda of both parties, and even a tax cut is not entirely out of the picture. But such a cut, if it comes, will arrive toward the end of the session. The great generosity will begin with the farm bill and will continue periodically until adjournment (including Social Security elaboration, a twenty-five-billion highway program, another bundle of foreign aid and, possibly, federal aid to schools).

Happy Is Willin'

Governor Albert B. (Happy) Chandler is the latest Democratic Vice-Presidential dark horse candidate. Chandler, who smashed all opposition in both parties last fall in a record-breaking comeback to the Governor's chair, will control the Kentucky delegation and have friends in others.

Dodd vs. Bush

Representative Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut's only Democratic member of the House, is expected to oppose Republican Prescott Bush in the coming Senatorial election. Connecticut observers foresee a close race, the odds favoring Mr. Dodd.

Natural Gas Bill

Senatorial supporters of the natural gas bill (which would exempt producers from federal regulation) believe they have the votes to insure quick passage. But an oratorical marathon is entirely possible and a deluge of amendments could change the picture. Senator Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.), whose state is serviced by a single pipeline, has called for "an avalanche of protest." Senators Douglas, Morse, Humphrey, Kilgore and others are expected to speak at length, but Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, chief protagonist of the bill, is confident of quick action.

California: Crucial

Stevenson and Kefauver will battle for delegates in Florida and California, but the western contest will be the more significant one. Kefauver could lose both "Sunshine States," and not be much worse off than he is now; but a victory for him in California would be a terrific blow to Stevenson's chances for nomination on the first ballot—perhaps on any ballot. In this connection it should be remembered that Kefauver took the California delegation in '52 against ironclad opposition and despite the fact that he was openly on the wrong side of two important state issues—Tidelands Oil and California's controversy with Arizona over Colorado River water.

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

The Stevenson-for-President movement is gathering steam. Recently the New York contingent took full-page ads in all the papers, calling for his nomination. Some 150 highly predictable men and women gave their names, their support and, presumably, their dollars. Among them: writers (e.g., John Hersey, Bennett Cerf, John Gunther); theater folk (e.g., Faye Emerson, George S. Kaufman and, of course, Tallulah Bankhead); ideologues (e.g., Adolf Berle, David Lilienthal, Shad Polier); Republicans who specialize in supporting Democrats (e.g., Frank Altschul); professors (e.g., H. S. Commager); and Roosevelts (Eleanor and Mrs. Kermit).

Our resolution not to conform with popular legends breaks down when it comes to so lovely a story (and so lovely a lady) as Miss Grace Kelly and her engagement. May Monaco live happily ever after! And the U.S., too! As to the latter, it occurs to us that the U.S. would certainly live longer if, in general, we confined foreign aid to the export of fair ladies. How about Miss Monroe to India? That would, for the U.S., effect a net saving of several billion dollars—and India would get an absolutely superior bargain.

Mr. L. J. Ambrose, a Communist, has been elected to the seven-man Executive Board of the British Amalgamated Engineering Union. Another Communist is already on the Board; a third member often votes according to the Communist line. The Amalgamated corresponds roughly to our Machinists' Union, and its members dominate the British defense industries. The Amalgamated will have another election in 1956, and it is being predicted the Communists will capture two more seats, to win a clear majority. It is not clear what the British propose to do about it. We wonder what Senator Hennings, were he a member of Parliament, would counsel.

The protracted French earthquake may soon undo U.S. foreign policy (assuming that there is such a thing). For, whatever the State Department proposes to do, and not to do, is based on the axiom that the current European prosperity will last forever. But the French franc has just skidded below the danger

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mark of 400 francs for the dollar on the semi-legal black market. Which may spell the end of French (and, in not so slow sequence, European) prosperity. And then what, Mr. Dulles?

A news story from India in the *Manchester Guardian* sheds light on Nehru's dislike of America. Nehru, it reads, "is an aristocrat who considers money as one of those indispensable evils, like toilet paper, better not mentioned yet useful. Americans are proud of money, not because of what it can buy but because they, unlike Mr. Nehru, were not born with a silver spoon in their mouth, and consider that hard-earned money measures the man's worth." Or, if not the man's who earned it, at least the man's who gets it. And Mr. Nehru, Americans think, is just not worth our hard-earned money.

The big unions, waxing richer every Friday, don't know where to invest their wealth; and so it is no wonder that Mr. George Meany, president of the unified AFL-CIO, seems quite receptive to a brainstorm of Mr. Robert Moses, New York City's Construction Coordinator. The idea: use the unions' welfare and pension funds to tear down slums and build union-owned housing developments. The Liberal press (not altogether to our surprise) had no fault to find in this project. But can you imagine what the Liberal reaction would be if the working man were compelled to move into a home owned by his boss?

A few short weeks ago we expressed genuine compassion for Mr. Robert M. Hutchins who, it seemed to us, was cutting a thoroughly pathetic figure. But, it turns out, Mr. Hutchins is by no means in need of sympathy: he has been safely reinstalled as president of the Fund for the Republic. This, under normal circumstances, is the kind of prank one might expect a whimsical group like the Fund to play on the public. At the moment, however, it is something more: it is a demonstration of the contempt the Fund (Chairman: Paul G. Hoffman) harbors for Mr. Henry Ford II. Having gone as far as he possibly could in publicly repudiating Mr. Hutchins, Mr. Ford is being told by the Fund he set up where to get off.

In a series of articles in the *Saturday Evening Post,* the Alsop brothers, on the basis of a recent cruise to the Soviet Union, report that the Soviet inhabitants are satisfied with their regime—even "smug" about it, in the Alsops' words. The Alsops do not seem to be read behind the Iron Curtain. During the last quarter of 1955 the westward flow of thousands of escapees rose to the highest level in some years. Two Hungarian families drugged their small babies so as to make their way in silence across the border mine fields into Austria.

The Potomac Focus

In Amman, Kingdom of Jordan, they come out in the open air to do battle in the streets. In Washington the battles—no less fierce if less bloody—are conducted behind bureaucratic walls and Top Secret stamps. This is one reason why it is often easier to get authoritative news from Amman than from Washington.

The major Washington action of the new year is developing in the field of foreign aid: how much? where? for what? NATIONAL REVIEW currently reflects this deployment in its own editorial emphasis. We understand, more specifically, that the present phase of the Washington battle centers on two issues and two places—the intra-Pentagon fight over whether to drop the boycott on strategic trade with the Soviet Empire; and the (primarily) State Department fight over whether to give Egypt all that Nasser asks, on Nasser's terms, for the Aswan Dam. In both operations, we hear, the defense is tottering. Unless the tide of combat is reversed, Khrushchev will soon be getting the machines he needs, and Nasser his easy money.

We have strong views on both these issues, but our own views apart, we believe it most unhealthy that what are apparently intended to be the deciding moves in these two conflicts are being made behind closed doors. *These are not security secrets but political issues;* and political issues should be fought in the full light of day, in Congress and in the public press.

We believe that it will gravely injure the defense of our country and the free world if the Soviet boycott is weakened. Moscow wants increased trade for two reasons only: to shore up its own rickety economic structure, and to help fashion the armaments by which she plans our final destruction. What prudence demands is not a loosened boycott, but its tightening and expansion; and the insistence that our friends and allies observe it. What sense can it make to hand an avowed murderer the gun with which to shoot us?

In the case of the Aswan Dam, one section of the State Department is directing its pressure against Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey and Eugene Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Against the continual criticism of foreign and domestic giveaway specialists, Mr. Black has insisted on running the World Bank like a bank: that is, on making loans that are fiscally sound and not disguised gifts. The Bank has offered to share a considerable part of the huge financing which the Aswan Dam project requires—but only on a sound basis, with reasonable controls and guarantees. Colonel Nasser has refused to accept the terms, and calls for the money without

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adequate restrictions. (The Czech arms deal was part of his mode of bargaining.) One group in the State Department is squeezing Secretary Humphrey to squeeze Mr. Black to give way. To do so would be a demonstration to the world of collapsed principle, as disastrous politically as it would be shabby economically.

Messrs. Humphrey and Black should invoke public opinion. They should find ways, as they can, to make this critical issue more widely known and understood. And, if they lose, they should make the truth plain; if necessary, by resigning.

Segregation and Democracy

On January 9, the citizens of Virginia voted by more than two to one to authorize a special constitutional convention that will reorganize the state school system. This election was Virginia's first major move in carrying out the so-called Gray Plan—a set of recommendations made, after prolonged study, by a legislative commission headed by State Senator Garland Gray. The constitutional convention will consider, and presumably approve (if we may judge by this preliminary vote), a provision that will permit the state to subsidize parents who wish to send their children to private, non-sectarian schools.

The Gray Plan is complicated. It is not clear just how it would work out in practice, or how it will stand up in court. Its purpose, however, is apparent: to find a way, under the Supreme Court desegregation rulings, to permit the parents in the local community to decide whether they wish the local schools to be segregated or "integrated." The Gray Plan does not compel segregation (as, in effect, do some of the plans advanced elsewhere in the South). If the Gray Plan works, the choice is left up to the parents and the local community.

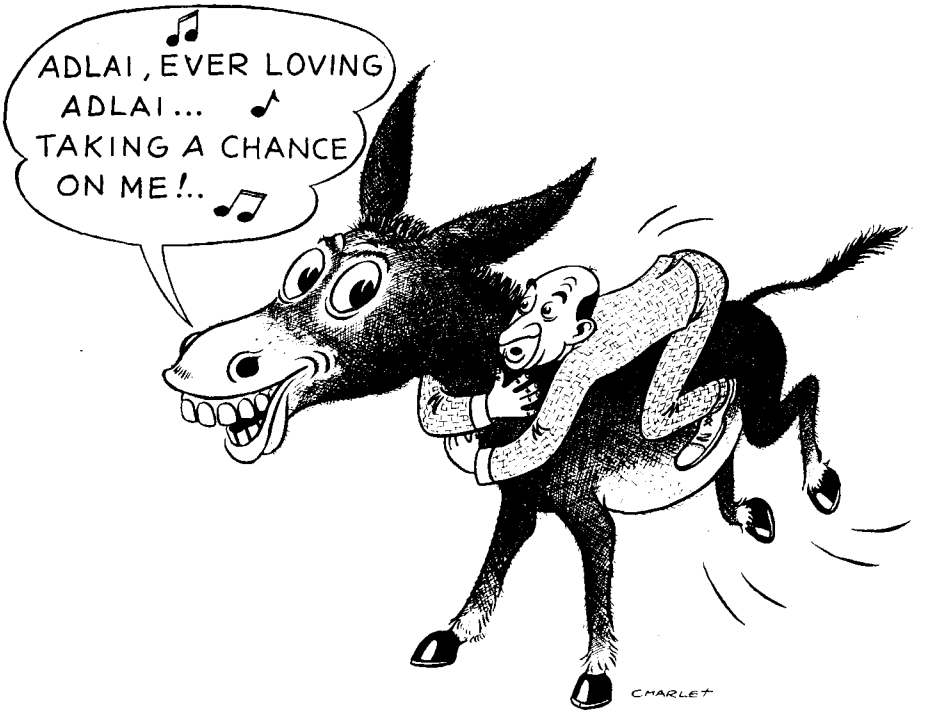
With this purpose, if we rightly understand it, we find ourselves in agreement; and we feel that libertarians generally should be so, whatever their judgment on segregation. We consider the Supreme Court's decision in the key segregation cases (*Brown v. Board of Education* and *Bolling v. Sharpe*) to be one of the most brazen acts of judicial usurpation in our history, patently counter to the intent of the Constitution, shoddy and illegal in analysis, and invalid as sociology. And we are opposed to congressional interference in the school segregation issue. Whether considered juridically or morally, this is a problem that should be solved not by the central government, but locally—in the states and their local subdivisions, and in the hearts of men.

Defiling Pitch

The James Kutcher affair is an unusually distasteful example of the always unpleasant species, "the security case." For fifteen years, Kutcher has been an avowed member of the Socialist Workers Party, a small Trotskyite split-off from official Communism, included on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. In 1943, Kutcher, then a U.S. soldier, lost both his legs through a mortar explosion in Italy. He was given a pension and a government job. In 1948 he was fired on the ground of his Trotskyite affiliation, as required by law and administrative ruling.

Recently, on the same ground plus alleged evidence of subversive remarks at a summer camp in 1950 and '51, the Veterans' Administration, with usual bureaucratic ineptitude, first suspended Kutcher's pension payments—and then, after public agitation, reinstated them.

Mr. Kutcher is being represented by none other than Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., redoubtable co-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, and active strategist of the Committee for an Effective Congress. Mr. Rauh, who last year managed Max Shachtman, leader of the SWP, in a successful legal hunt for a passport, is also attorney for the SWP itself in its attempt to



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remove its name from the Attorney General's list.

On the question of Mr. Kutcher's pension we reserve comment, except to note our belief that violations of genuine contracts (and a pension agreement *is* a contract) should not be used as a sanction. We do wish, however, to make one observation that we have failed to notice in the lengthy coverage the press has given to the Kutcher affair.

Joseph Rauh is no Trotskyite, and never was. Whatever we think about Kutcher and his pension, let us be quite clear about what Mr. Rauh and his colleagues are doing. For them, Kutcher's lost legs, and the peculiar anti-Moscow but pro-Communism politics of Trotskyism, are a heaven-sent opportunity. They are after bigger game than passports for Max Shachtman and a pension for a wounded veteran. As they have made abundantly clear, they aim to smash the government's entire security system. The consequence, if they succeed, would be a clear road for the advance of the major internal enemy: the domestic agents and followers of Soviet-based international Communism. Mr. Rauh is a shrewd tactician. The SWP (because it has no connection with a foreign power) plus Kutcher (because he lost his legs in battle) combine to make the weakest section of the government's security wall. For they lend themselves perfectly to demagogic exploitation by civil libertines.

Farm Surplus and Jails

Senator Beall of Maryland would empower Secretary Benson to take food from the $7.7 billion farm surplus and give it to jails. Well, why not? Convicts are notoriously underfed.

Of course, there would be details to be attended to. Take feed corn, which accounts for $1.4 of the $7.7 billion. Before even convicts would eat it, it would have to be turned into hogs; which would mean sties, and feeding equipment.

Then there is the question whether our current jail population (180,000) is numerous enough for the eating job. But if jails had bountiful fare, maybe hoods and punks would not try so hard to keep out of them. True, we would need more jails. But new jails would make a nice backlog of public works.

There is, it seems to us, a logic in Senator Beall's proposal. The parity-price supports (from which the $7.7 billion surplus has come) were originally meant as a substitute for, and improvement on, the free commodity markets of the Chicago Board of Trade. The supports haven't worked because their controls and penalties haven't been harsh enough. No regimented economy will succeed without toughness; and if the Administration is afraid to be tough with farmers, it had better start getting tough with eaters. Which logically brings up the subject of jails.

How to Get Dollars

Back in 1954, Marshal Tito had an inspiration.

The Yugoslav farmers were in revolt against his variety of Communism and, to provide them with consumer goods, he had borrowed $30 million from the World Bank.

The World Bank officials told him the next step was to refund Yugoslavia's prewar debt and to borrow money in New York and London. So, in March 1954, he opened negotiations with Yugoslavia's private foreign creditors, who told him to cut down the Yugoslav budget; which meant firing the job-holders who were the core of his political support.

Tito didn't dare fire them. Instead, he appealed to the U.S. Government for a handout. The State Department, in one of its periodical drives to save Italy from the Italian Communists, told Tito to help out by being handsome in the Trieste dispute—which he couldn't do without turning *all* Yugoslavs against himself. This was Tito's fix when his inspiration came.

Because Italy had a Communist problem, Italy had got American money. All countries with Communist problems got American money. So Tito—this was his inspiration—decided to be a problem himself.

Tito needed to flirt with Moscow; but if he tried flirting at a moment when he had been so clearly rejected by the United States, Moscow would demand his white uniform and medals. So he needed—as former Secretary Acheson used to put it—to deal from a situation of strength. Observe the ensuing sequence of events:

1954:

December. Nehru agrees to a state visit from Tito. He and Nehru jointly announce they adhere to neither the Western allies nor the Communists.

1955:

February. Enroute from India, Tito stops in Egypt. He and Col. Nasser have a secret conference.

May. On Tito's invitation, Bulganin and Khrushchev visit Belgrade. The U.S. Ambassador is hastily recalled to Washington.

July. The U.S. offers Tito increased military aid. Tito says the U.S. should just hand over the money and weapons.

September. Col. Nasser invites Bulganin and Khrushchev to visit Egypt. The U.S. Ambassadors to all Near Eastern countries are summoned to a meeting.

December. The World Bank offers to finance the first stages of the $500-million Aswan dam. Col. Nasser says it ought just to hand the money over.

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December. On Nehru's invitation, Bulganin and Khrushchev visit India.

1956:

January. In his State of the Union message, Eisenhower asks Congress to increase the civilian foreign-aid appropriation by $2.2 billion and make the foreign-aid program permanent. Yugoslavia, India and Egypt are unofficially mentioned as beneficiaries.

Tito is possibly driven by more than an honest greed for American dollars. To some students of Communism, his break with Moscow in 1948 was fraudulent; they believe that he is, today, Moscow's underground ally. Moscow itself takes the maneuvers of Tito, Nehru and Nasser with deadly earnestness. Moscow is clearly out to strengthen the Communist position in India; to establish it in Egypt; and re-establish it in Yugoslavia. In this week's "Third World War," Mr. Burnham touches on the inexplicable willingness of Washington to submit to Tito's gang blackmail. Here we merely want to pay tribute to Tito's wits and to one of the most elaborate and far-flung parlor charades ever enacted.

Dozer: Second Round

No one can keep the State Department down when it decides to fire a conservative employee. Although it was corrected in December by the Civil Service Commission, which cleared Professor Donald M. Dozer of the Department's charges and ordered his immediate reinstatement in the Historical Division (see NATIONAL REVIEW, December 28, 1955), the very same charges have now again been dredged up.

For fifteen years, Professor Dozer got along famously in government employment; but when, in 1952, he refused to ghost-write an anti-McCarthy article (on State Department time) and when he took to agitating for the publication of World War Two diplomatic documents in accordance with the express will of Congress, his star had set.

Professor Dozer has resubmitted his defense to the Civil Service Commission. We trust that the State Department will again be slapped down.

The Crime of George Ivanov

Just about when this issue reaches our readers, the Court of Special Sessions, in New York, will ponder the case of George Ivanov. And so shall we. In fact, we have pondered it for weeks. It's a beaut.

George Ivanov, who arrived in this country in 1951, has driven New York's Welfare Department to utter despair: he saved, in two years, almost 50 per cent of the relief payments he had received—$924 from $1,997.50, to be exact.

Now nobody is going to do that to a self-respecting Welfare Department. For, indeed, let us consider the immensity of Mr. Ivanov's misdeed. "The budget we figure," stated an irate spokesman for New York's Welfare Department, "is a minimum budget. The amount [Ivanov] saved is fantastic. He should have told us about the money he saved."

Mr. Ivanov, in turn, contends he had never told the Welfare Department people that he had saved money for the simple reason that they had never asked him. As to the saving itself—well, Mr. Ivanov had not too good a time, for two years, but he hadn't lost a pound of weight and, anyhow, living that way was something he thought he "*had* to do," i.e., he felt compelled not to live comfortably so long as he was living on other people's money. That, the New York Welfare Department is in effect asking the Court to rule, is un-American. Mr. Ivanov will learn about these things in due course. He is a Russian, and speaks hardly a word of English.

Chin Up, Ambassador!

BULLETIN from the Geneva ring: U. Alexis Johnson (Stars & Stripes, 175 lbs.) and Wang Ping-nan (Hammer & Sickle, 182 lbs. counting the iron in his gloves), who started their epic talkathon on Far Eastern problems at the end of the Geneva Summit prelim., are finishing their fifth month and still jawing. Let's not forget our embattled champion! We ask our readers to join us in a morale booster campaign: Postcards for U. Alexis. Complete Address: Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, care of U.S. Embassy, Geneva, Switzerland.

Between Us

We have received many complaints, some of them bitter, almost all of them understandable, from subscribers who have not received their issues regularly. The tone of some complaints is such as to suggest that we take a perverse pleasure in editing and writing a journal and seeing to it that it does not reach anyone!

In point of fact, we are pleased that our readers should take the trouble to protest the absence of our journal, and very distressed that they should have to do so. We are making every effort to correct the situation. Our difficulties stem, primarily, from the fact that we do not yet qualify, not having published long enough, for a second-class mailing permit. This means that we get stepfatherly treatment from the Post Office. Then there was the holiday mail traffic. But the situation is clearing up, and we hope that this issue reaches our readers before the rush of Easter greetings catches it up.

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The Paradoxical State of the Union

The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.

We have been faithfully studying, in accord with our duty as citizens and editors, the President's Message to Congress on the State of the Union. It is a long document, and it ranges far. When there are so many proposals, not many persons can be expected to agree fully with all of them; and, since the proposals are of many kinds, almost everyone will doubtless agree with some. We, for example, were very favorably struck with the President's assertion of "fiscal integrity" as an "objective of the Administration." "I refer," he explained, "not only to the indispensable virtues of plain honesty and trust-worthiness but also to the prudent, effective and conscientious use of tax money." We felt much colder at his appeal to the dubious authority of the recent White House Conference on Education as justification for a still more dubious federal education plan.

Our reflections, we found, gradually coalesced in one general impression; or, more precisely, in a puzzling split in our general impression. We shall try to make this split manifest by arranging certain quotations from the Message in parallel tables:

DR. JEKYLL REPUBLICAN

On the Principles and Traditions of our Government

The State of the Union today demonstrates what can be accomplished under God by a free people; by their vision, their understanding of national problems, their initiative, their self-reliance, their capacity for work.

Our economy has been freed from governmental wage and price controls.

This record of progress has been accomplished with a self-imposed caution against unnecessary and unwise interference in the private affairs of our people, of their communities and the several states.

Our competitive enterprise system depends on the energy of free human beings, limited by prudent restraint in law, free markets to plan, organize and distribute production, and spurred by the prospect of reward for successful effort.

This system of competitive enterprise, [*cf. supra*] has developed our resources. It has marvelously expanded our productive capacity.

MR. HYDE REPUBLICAN

On the Election Year Application of Principles and Tradition

The dimensions of Government responsibility are as broad and complex as the farm problem itself.

We must also carry forward the job of improving the wage-hour law. Last year I requested the Congress to broaden the coverage of the minimum wage. I pledge the full resources of the Executive Branch to assist the Congress in finding ways to attain this goal.

I urged that measures be taken to complete the vital 40,000-mile interstate system over a period of ten years at an estimated Federal cost of approximately $25,000,000,000 . . . The whole interstate system must be authorized as one project . . .

I urge that the Congress move promptly to enact an effective program of Federal assistance to help erase the existing deficit of school classrooms . . .
The system of Federal old age and survivors' insurance now helps protect nine out of ten American workers and their families. . . . The system is sound. . . . Other needs in the area of social welfare include increased child welfare services, extension of the program of aid to dependent children, intensified attack on juvenile delinquency, and special attention to the problems of mentally retarded children . . . We must aid in cushioning the heavy and rising costs of illness and hospitalization to individuals and families.

Therefore, I strongly recommend that action be taken at this session on such wholly Federal projects as the Colorado River Storage Project and the Frying Pan-Arkansas Project.

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Against the record of all other economic systems devised through the ages, this competitive system has proved the most creative user of human skills in the development of physical resources and the richest rewarder of human effort . . .

We know that if we are to govern ourselves wisely—in the tradition of America—we must have the opportunity to develop our individual capacities to the utmost.

Recommendations will be submitted, designed to supplement with Federal technical and loan assistance local efforts to get on with this vital job [of dealing with chronic unemployment]. . . .

A firm program of public housing is essential until the private building industry has found ways to provide more adequate housing for low-income families. The Administration will propose authority to contract for thirty-five thousand additional public housing units in each of the next two fiscal years.

We are not so utopian as to suppose that practical politics can ever afford the virtue of a logically pure consistency. But the inconsistency in the State of the Union Message is so pervasive and so systematic as to become itself a political phenomenon.

To begin with: at the one pole are the statements of political philosophy, interspersed through the Message but all clustering around a single set of basic ideas: a belief in the American constitutional tradition of individual initiative, free enterprise and limited government. At the other are a number of the specific proposals for congressional action, compounding in varied proportion the contrary basic ideas of welfarism or statism. It is as if the Administration were mildly schizophrenic, with one side of its personality coherently organized in terms of the older, distinctive American tradition, and the other patched together by Fabian strings.

Or can the explanation be put much more simply? It may quite probably be that the leaders of the Administration, or most of them, do really believe in their hearts in the tradition of individual initiative and limited government, but have been persuaded by their expert advisers (perhaps rightly, of course) that the voters have been too softened and corrupted by two decades of government coddling and handouts to accept a program squarely based on that tradition. Therefore, on this hypothesis, the Administration, in order to hold the voters on the Republican line, must concede a little here, a little more there, to the Statist Siren.

The result is sometimes rather foolish. On public housing, the Message directly violates its own professed philosophy by urging that the government build 35,000 units a year for two years. 35,000! It seems hardly worth while to sin on such a minuscule scale. Our private construction industry—which in the past decade has exceeded any record anyone ever dreamed of previously—has for some years been building housing units at an annual rate of well over one million.

We do not hold that this Republican Message on the State of the Union is identical with what a Democratic Message would have been or would probably be. The *Democratic Digest*'s program (which we discussed in our last issue) and Governor Averell Harriman's Message to the New York State Legislature, delivered the day before the President's Message, indicate the scale of difference: a difference of kind, in the political philosophy—for the left Democrats, now in control of their party, frankly accept welfarism and statism; of degree, on specific proposals—for there seems to be no limit to the amount of money that the left Democrats are willing to pass around, at home or abroad, and few if any spheres of activity from which they believe that government should be excluded.

It is certainly of some significance that the *Daily Worker*, speaking the official Communist view, hailed Governor Harriman's Message as "a constructive social welfare and labor program" which "projected a vigorous peacetime economy and outlook"; whereas it attacked the Eisenhower Message as one that "rejected the main social welfare demands." This does not mean that Governor Harriman is in any way linked with the Communists (they sharply denounce his international views), but it nevertheless shows which of the two programs they rate as closer to their own.

There is a difference, then, between the Eisenhower program, as expressed in the State of the Union message, and a left Democrat, New Dealist program; but our sorrow is over the small width of this difference, and our regret is at the Administration's unwillingness to give its own beliefs undiluted backing in specific proposals. Even from a vote-catching point of view, the Republican leaders have no reason to shy away from their principles. Those who really like statism are not going to vote Republican. On the occasional big moves away from statism made during the past three years by the Administration—the abolition of leftover war controls, the release of synthetic rubber plants and tidelands oil to private citizens—there seems to be widespread approval.

It is not just political oratory but the actual truth when the Message declares: "This competitive system has proved the most creative user of human skills in the development of physical resources and the richest rewarder of human effort." Then why not rely confidently on the competitive system to build those 35,000 housing units (what expensive houses they will otherwise be when you add to the normal construction costs all the price of the Budget Bureau's and Congress' time, the government offices and bureaucrats that will "process" them, the audits by the General Accounting Office, the inspections, the memos, the reports printed by the Government Printing Office!); to work out a sensible way to avoid excessive farm surpluses (instead of increasing them, as all government subsidy programs must); to decide if and where hospitals and irrigation are really needed?

If we are going to end up in jail anyway, we naturally prefer the slow to the fast train. But we could be more positively happy if our train kept travelling in the opposite direction.

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Among the now tacit, now explicit premises on which this column rests are the following:

—that the Liberal intellectuals, individual by individual, possess a moral and intellectual smugness the like of which the world has never before seen;

—that, individual by individual, they channel great energies into patting one another's backs, enhancing one another's reputations, and attributing to one another the moral and intellectual infallibility, courage, and incorruptibility each claims for himself;

—that, together, they constitute a mutual admiration society that acts enough like a machine to justify our treating it, for purposes of analysis, *as* a machine.

Never have these premises been so surprisingly and conveniently confirmed, and the workings of the machine *qua* machine so neatly exposed to public view, as in the *Progressive's* Holiday Greetings, from which the following generous excerpts are taken:

"To President Eisenhower, whose firm insistence that 'there is no longer any alternative to peace' could be heard around the world despite the clamorous confusion on American foreign policy in his own Administration—

"To Chief Justice Earl Warren, whose enlightened leadership, and Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo L. Black, whose unyielding devotion to the Bill of Rights, have enabled the United States Supreme Court to keep alive our hopes for a freer America—

"To Harry P. Cain, former Republican Senator from Washington, who incurred the wrath of both his erstwhile McCarthyite associates *and* some of the Eisenhower team because of his sled-length exposure of the wickedness in the 'security program'—

"To James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post,* whose brilliant editorials continue to hold up the mirror of disenchantment to wayward liberals—

"To Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, whose militant leadership has exposed the weaseling position of both political parties on such crucial issues as housing, health, education, civil rights, and foreign policy—

"To Chester Bowles and James Warburg, whose recent books on foreign policy have pointed the way to a vastly more creative approach to world problems than the course presently pursued by our policy-makers—

"To George W. Harris, president of the Georgia Tech student body, who wired University of Pittsburgh students: "The student body of Georgia Tech sincerely apologizes for the unwarranted action of Georgia's governor [Marvin Griffin]. We are looking forward to seeing your *entire* team [Negro included] and student body at the Sugar Bowl"—

"To Federal District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, who has shown the way to the reestablishment of American freedom, especially in cases involving the right of Americans to travel abroad . . .

"To Robert M. Hutchins and The Fund for the Republic which he heads, for daring to go on alerting the nation to attacks on civil liberties despite a torrent of criticism, much of it unprincipled—

"To The Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and notably J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of the Washington *Post-Times Herald,* who have led a persistent attack on government news censorship. . .

"To Walter Lippmann, whose informed and distinguished interpretive commentaries on American foreign policy have often stood almost alone in alerting the nation to the fatal weaknesses of the course being pursued by Secretary of State Dulles—

"To Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., and his associates on the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, who have done much to reverse the tide of McCarthyism—

"To Senator Herbert Lehman, who has stood head and shoulders above most of his colleagues in his struggle to reform our brutal immigration laws—

"To Senator Walter George, who provided creative and courageous leadership in the effort to steer American foreign policy along a more affirmative course—

"To Senator Estes Kefauver, whose inquiry helped bring the facts about the Dixon-Yates mess to the attention of the American public—

"To Representative Henry Reuss and his band of freshman Congressmen, who dared challenge the negative foreign polices of their elders in Congress. . .

"To Daniel R. Fitzpatrick and Herbert Block (Herblock), whose superb cartoons have done so much to illuminate the issues of our age (and brighten the pages of *The Progressive*)—

"To George Kennan, Karl Menninger, Robert Pickus, Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dwight Macdonald, Stephen Cary, and artist Elizabeth Gruse who participated without compensation in *The Progressive's* memorable symposium on *Speak Truth to Power*. . .

"To the American Friends Service Committee, which does so much so quietly to further peace and fellowship—

"To John Crosby, whose refreshing reflections on radio and television for the New York *Herald Tribune* and other papers using the syndicated service are without parallel in the field . . .

"To Anthony Lewis, of the Washington *Daily News,* whose article in *The Reporter* on the Abraham Chasanow case played a major role in breaking through the security curtain . . .

"To all the members of our staff, to those who write for us, to the typesetters, proofreaders, makeup men, engravers, and pressmen who help produce *The Progressive*. . .

"And to all men and women everywhere, of whatever country, color, or creed, who make up that great company of humanity of which Winston Churchill spoke so wistfully when he said: "Rarely in history . . . has such widespread, individual virtue found so dim a collective focus—"

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The 'Times' Slays A Dragon

"We would easier believe the Constitution of the U.S. to be tainted than the New York Times," enthused a newspaper. Mr. Buckley takes a look—and, upon deliberation, disagrees.

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

There are safe and not-so-safe ways to be heroic. The other day, the *New York Times* demonstrated its mastery of the art of kicking a midget in the groin and then staging a parade in honor of itself—a parade to which the little conformists around the country could be counted on to come, to cheer this their Caesar. Simultaneously, it was demonstrated once again that the road of industrious and relentless anti-Communism is treacherous and unrewarding. Senator Eastland (whose influence alongside that of the *Times* makes him the underdog in any contest between the two) found this out, once again.

Appalled by the Eastland Committee's impudence in subpoenaing Communists and ex-Communists, even though they work on the *New York Times,* the *Times* let loose with a blast on January 5 in which it accused the Eastland Committee of persecuting it because, on various issues, the *Times* has in the past disagreed with the Senator from Mississippi. As though Senator Eastland had attempted to dictate the *Times'* personnel policy, the editorial asserted that "It is our own business to decide whom we shall employ and not employ. We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland subcommittee." There never was, of course, any question about the Eastland Committee controlling the *New York Times;* but now that the dust has settled, the question has seriously arisen whether the *New York Times* has acquired the effective power to control congressional investigating committees.

The Editorial

The *Times'* attack on the Eastland Committee said in almost as many words that the committee was not, in fact, out to trace Communist efforts to infiltrate the press, but to punish the *New York Times.* But it did not make clear just *how* the committee intended to effect that punishment. If the committee had hoped to intimidate it, then the *Times* knew all along there was no danger that it would succeed, given the fact that the *Times* is so brave. Was it the intention of the committee to charge, erroneously, that there are more ex-Communists or Communists working for the *Times* than in fact there are? If so, just how might the committee go about creating that impression? For the *Times,* surely, is in a position to demonstrate the inaccuracy of any inaccurate factual charge.

Or is it that the committee is calling up only ex-Communist newspapermen who now work for the *New York Times,* and not those who work for other papers? If that is so, the most effective way to expose such a bias is for the *Times* to inform the committee as to the whereabouts of other ex-Communist newspapermen whose testimony might illuminate the committee's inquiry. But this the *Times* has not done. It has not, in fact, done anything of a substantial nature to document the allegation that the Eastland Committee is out to punish the *New York Times* for disagreeing with the committee.

Yet the *Times* editorial said, flatly, "It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at the *New York Times.*" Here is what makes this obvious to the *Times*: "This is evident from several facts: *from the heavy concentration of subpoenas served on employes of this newspaper* [it is apparently absurd to assume that this concentration is due to the concentration of ex-Communists in the *New York Times*], *from the nature of the examination conducted at earlier hearings by the subcommittee's counsel, Mr. Sourwine* [what nature? Why should the *Times* be obscure on this crucial point?], *and from that counsel's effort, at those hearings, to demonstrate some connection between a witness' one-time association with the Communist party and the character of the news published in this paper.*"

The Eastland Committee has not come to any conclusions, and has not publicly attempted to demonstrate any such connection. However, the operating assumption of the committee is that an able and reliable Communist, working as a newspaperman, will certainly attempt to smuggle the Party line into any story or editorial he is writing. (If Communists started to behave like genteel bourgeois exploiters the moment they go to work for newspapers, then indeed there would be no purpose in investigating subversion in the press.) And the *Times* knows this; for it stated in its editorial, "We would not knowingly employ a Communist party member in the news or editorial departments of this paper because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly." One therefore expects a congressional committee, when questioning a reporter whose allegiance to his country is in doubt, to probe his writings for probative, if not conclusive evidence. To spell it out: If a reporter on the *New York Times* is identified by a witness as having been a member of the Communist Party; and if the reporter declines to state whether or not he is now a Communist, or if he says he is no longer a Communist but leaves the committee unconvinced; then the committee must attempt to get at the truth by other methods: it will turn, as a matter of course, to the reporter's writings, to see whether

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they reflect a distinctively Communist bias.

Unable, then—or if able, unwilling—to explain just *how* the Eastland Committee was engaged in persecuting the *Times*, the *Times* rushed to state the reasons *why* the committee should *want* to persecute it. Those reasons are, needless to say, also "obvious":

"It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that the *Times* has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner, and the subcommittee counsel stand"

(Other newspapers, the *Times* seems to be saying, escape retaliation because they are not so vigorously devoted to the commonweal.)

"—that is, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools;"

(So have Jenner and Sourwine.)

"because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works;"

(To the *Times*, "McCarthyism" means character assassination, etc.; the implication is, then, that Eastland, Jenner and Sourwine *believe* in character assassination, etc.)

"because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act;"

(The implication here is that E-J & S support the McCarran Act *because* it is narrow and bigoted.)

"because we have criticized a 'security system' which conceals the accuser from his victim;"

(E-J & S agree with J. Edgar Hoover, Harry Truman, and others that, on occasion, security boards should not identify FBI or other informants.)

"because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and a high standard of fair play."

(Whereas it is the ambition of E-J & S, one would assume, to do away with lowly individuals altogether. On the final point: it is undoubtedly true that E-J & S would acknowledge that they observe different standards of fair play from those employed by the *Times*. They are, perhaps, even proud of the fact.)

On that basis, the *Times* accused two Senators and one lawyer of traducing a Senate investigating committee. And in such fashion, the *Times* makes its claim to moral and intellectual superiority over the Eastland Committee.

The Reaction

The reaction to the *Times* editorial was wonderful to behold. Throughout Liberaldom, joy was unconfined. David did not enjoy a greater triumph when he slew Goliath. Two days after the editorial appeared, the *Times* treated itself to a full page of reproduced editorials that had appeared in great daily newspapers around the country, all of which paid tribute, in varying degrees of fulsomeness, to the *Times'* dauntlessness. The Denver *Post* howled with delight at the Eastland Committee's "Big Floperoo." The Milwaukee *Journal* hailed the action of the *Times* as "wise, moderate, thoughtful," and remarked that it "rings with the power of truth and right." The St. Louis *Post Dispatch* urged Greater St. Louis to read the editorial "to its last syllable." The Brooklyn *Daily* was so happy about the whole thing it just couldn't bear it. For one thing, there never had been any doubt in the *Daily's* mind about the *Times*: "We would easier believe the Constitution of the United States to be 'tainted' than the *New York Times.*"

If Senator Eastland had converted Khrushchev and persuaded him to take a partnership in Merrill Lynch he would not have got such a press.

Perhaps the most revealing and significant comment on the *Times* blast against Eastland was written by Murray Kempton, pin-up boy of the Bohemian Left, who writes an impressionistic column for James Wechsler's *New York Post*. It is one of Kempton's convictions that one should never kick someone when he's down, provided he is a Communist. He began his column, two days after the *Times* editorial, by exulting in the fact that Eastland was down. "Someday," he wrote, "a Sunday edition of the *New York Times* is going to fall out of a truck and kill a pedestrian. And Jim Eastland of Mississippi will know just how the victim feels."

Then some triumphant talk about the immediate political impact of the *Times* piece on the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee: "[Eastland] arrived [in the committee room] at 11:30 [the day of the *Times* editorial], a reeky fat man with a cold cigar, and sat with no company but J. G. Sourwine in the middle of the long table which, only the day before, had been crowded with Senators. But they all scratched yesterday morning. It was quite apparent that, having escaped the *Times* once, none of them proposed to risk being caught by the photographers in Eastland's company."

Then some inside information. Senator Hennings was one of the absent senators that morning. But he was spotted by reporters in a corridor of the Senate office building, doing nothing in particular. He was accosted by the reporters: "Yes, he had read the *Times* editorial," Kempton reported. "*He had, in fact, gone over it with a* Times *representative a few days ago.*" This struck even Mr. Kempton as strange. "It was a little odd," he mused, "to hear a Senator confess so blithely that he had consorted with the enemies of his own committee. But, such is the awful majesty of the *New York Times* that Tom Hennings brags of caucusing with it."

Then an eternal verity: "There is something wonderful about power. Just to have it is insurance against mistakes."

And, finally, the summation: "Yesterday [the *Times*] got up to its feet and let Jim Eastland have it. It was, as it always is for the *Times*, like swatting flies."

A Dissent

Here are some dissenting observations. The *New York Times* smeared a Senate subcommittee in an unreasoned, hysterical, and pretentious editorial which activated a host of fawning sycophants in every corner of the land and, temporarily at least, immobilized an important investigating committee. The episode brilliantly demonstrated the influence of the *Times*, though that influence was never seriously in doubt; and it went a long way to demonstrate the intellectual subservience of whole sections of the press when called upon to follow the Leader. Once again, the *Times* exhibited its power to command national attention and write Liberal policy. That power, by the way, accounts more convincingly than Senator Eastland's views on segregation for the Communists' fascination with the

(*Continued on p. 30*)

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Special Report

The Firing of Herbert Fuchs

(The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW *asked Mr. Bozell to determine why Professor Herbert Fuchs was dismissed by The American University in Washington. The* REVIEW *does not question the right of the private college to hire and fire according to its own lights, and with a view to the corporate educational intentions of the institution. The editors wanted to report on whether Professor Fuchs' cooperation with a congressional committee investigating Communism resulted in academic retaliation, or whether he was let go merely because he had once been a Communist, or whether he was dismissed for other reasons, of no concern to our readers. Mr. Bozell submitted the following report. He showed it, first, to Mr. Anderson, president of the University, who had been kind enough to go over the Fuchs case with him. Mr. Anderson hotly resisted the conclusions Mr. Bozell arrived at and asked that we publish his dissent along with Mr. Bozell's article. We do this gladly. We publish, also, Mr. Bozell's comments on Mr. Anderson's objections.)*

A brief chronology of some facts of the case that are a matter of record:

—June 13, 1955. Professor Fuchs admitted to an executive session of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had been a Communist from 1934 to 1946, but refused to identify his former Party associates.

—July 10. The *Washington Star* broke the Fuchs story, publishing an account of Professor Fuchs' testimony to the Committee. That afternoon President Hurst R. Anderson, of The American University, issued a statement:

> The question raised as to Mr. Herbert Fuchs' case is: was he a party member or worker when employed by The American University or/and is he now a party member or worker? From the information at my disposal at this date he was not in any way related to the Communist Party when employed by this University, nor since has he been a member or worker of the Communist Party. He is known in our Washington College of Law as an intelligent, loyal and devoted teacher. He has made a serious mistake in the past which he has recognized and declared. The American University would therefore support his right to pursue his chosen professional activities. To take any other action at this time would be beneath the dignity of the institution with a Christian relationship and commitments.

—July 15. Fuchs revealed the names of his past Communist associates to the staff of the House Committee. The next day,

—July 16. President Anderson requested Fuchs to ask for a temporary leave of absence, which he did.

—September 13. The Executive Committee of the University's Board of Trustees, on the advice of President Anderson, recommended that Fuchs' contract not be renewed in 1956, and that he be relieved of his University duties, with pay, for the duration of the existing contract. Had Fuchs been reappointed for an additional year, Mr. Anderson points out, he would have been entitled, according to the practice of the University, to a tenure appointment, making it virtually impossible to remove him at a future time.

—October 29. The Board of Trustees unanimously adopted the Executive Committee's recommendation.

—December 13. Fuchs publicly identified 44 past Communist associates at a hearing of the House Committee in Chicago. Chairman Walter commented: ". . . to the witness who has once been a part of . . . [the Communist] conspiracy and who has seen the error of his ways, and is possessed of the fortitude to . . . give the Committee the benefit of his knowledge, the Committee and the country owe a debt of gratitude."

Interview with Dr. Anderson

The American University had never publicly explained its position when I approached Dr. Anderson to learn the reason for Professor Fuchs' dismissal.

Dr. Anderson began the interview by vigorously denying the suggestion by Representative Scherer of the House Committee, and others, that Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam had been responsible for Fuchs' discharge. Bishop Oxnam, said Anderson, was not even consulted on the Fuchs case prior to the Executive Committee meeting, did not attend that meeting since he was out of the country; and while he did attend the subsequent Board of Trustees meeting, his views were in no sense the moving factor in that group's decision.

Dr. Anderson was equally vehement on the question of whether he had led either Fuchs or Congressman Walter to believe that Fuchs would keep his job if he cooperated with the Committee (as has been reported by a number of journals, including NATIONAL REVIEW): he had given no assurances of any kind.

Dr. Anderson moved on to discuss the University's attitude toward Professor Fuchs. He stated that Fuchs was relieved of his duties "because he is not the sort of man this University wants on its faculty." Urged to be more specific, Dr. Anderson gave the reasons why the University moved against Fuchs: a) he is "controversial"; b) he is an "atheist"; c) he was a "perjurer"; d) he had not discharged "his burden of proving" to the University that he had broken with the Communist Party and/or its tenets.

As to the first count, "controversial" meant that Fuchs did not enjoy a congenial relationship with the University's public.

As to Fuchs' views on religion, Dr. Anderson tentatively elaborated: "He [Fuchs] may have said he is [merely] an agnostic, but he is an agnostic or an atheist, one or the other." Then, with emphasis: "This is a Protestant university."

Dr. Anderson explained that The American University is not formally beholden to the clergy of the Methodist Church as are, he observed, some religious institutions; but that even so, the University adheres to "certain

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principles" and has "certain purposes" with which its faculty must be "in sympathy."

As to the "perjurer" count, Dr. Anderson acknowledged that the characterization related "primarily" to Fuchs' actions while a member of the Communist Party. There was, however, one instance of possible perjury that post-dated Fuchs' break with the Party. Dr. Anderson declined to elaborate.

The question whether Fuchs' conversion from Communism was genuine evidently was given the most weight in the deliberations of Dr. Anderson and the Board of Trustees. Asked what else Fuchs might do to establish beyond reasonable doubt his good faith (having come clean as to his own past, and having cooperated with the FBI and the House Committee by naming 44 of his former government associates), Dr. Anderson stated that after all "He did nothing except under pressure." Every step of the way, he said, Fuchs had had to be prodded. He consented, for example, to reveal the names of past Party associates only after he was urged to do so by Anderson and others.

But Dr. Anderson quickly moved on to a position that made the question of how Fuchs might have demonstrated his good faith (as well as Anderson's answer to it) irrelevant. *"As President of this University,"* Dr. Anderson asserted, *"I do not consider it wise under any circumstances to appoint a person who is or who has been as an adult a member of the Communist Party.* The risks are too great. Enough qualified persons are available for employment by this University, with whom such risks are not involved." In other words, there was *nothing* that Fuchs, having once been a Communist, might have done (or yet do) that would qualify him for permanent appointment at The American University.

Dr. Anderson insisted, moreover, that this position was consistent with his July 10 statement. We turn now to Mr. Fuchs' version of the affair.

Mr. Fuchs' Version

Fuchs agreed that beyond Dr. Anderson's supporting statement of July 10, he had received no assurances against academic retaliation. Moreover, he had no personal knowledge of commitments Anderson might have made to Congressman Walter.

Though Fuchs neither sought nor received guarantees against reprisal, the University's reaction to his testimony of July 15 came as a sharp surprise. He had been urged by Dr. Anderson to cooperate with the House Committee. Having done so, he was summoned the day following for an interview at the President's office. A stormy session ensued with Dr. Anderson and Mr. R. V. Fletcher, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, during which he was "attacked," in the main by Fletcher, who called him an "atheist" and a "Communist." At the close of the interview, Anderson gave him the alternative of requesting a temporary leave of absence, pending a decision by the University on the renewal of his contract, or immediate suspension.

Turning to the reasons given by Dr. Anderson for his discharge, Fuchs denied that he is an atheist. He is of Jewish origin, and an avowed agnostic, which cannot, he observed, be confused with atheism since the latter affirms the non-existence of God. Moreover, insofar as he has a tendency toward belief, it is in the direction of "theism." Mr. Fuchs did not take seriously the suggestion that he had been fired because of his religious beliefs, or lack of them. He had not been questioned about them when he was hired as a law professor, nor at any time prior to his testimony before the House Committee. Furthermore, he was not aware that American University, as a rule, demands from its faculty the kind of conformity about religious belief allegedly enforced in his case. (Dr. Anderson reminded NATIONAL REVIEW that the Methodist Church acquired The American University—at the time a non-sectarian university—in 1952, that it inherited at that time a number of faculty members with tenure appointments which the Methodists determined to honor irrespective of religious belief, or lack of it. Hence the discreet manner in which it probed the religious views of faculty members on temporary appointment.)

On the "perjurer" count, Fuchs acknowledged that while a Communist and on one subsequent occasion—i.e., in 1948, during his government loyalty investigation—he had lied when asked about his and others' Party membership. He had disclosed the 1948 incident to the Walter Committee at its first hearing.

On the question of whether he has believably turned his back on Communism, Fuchs made these observations:

1. By revealing the identity of his past associates, he has done all he can do to hurt the Communist Party and help the government.

2. Yes, it is true he was reluctant to name his former friends, and, as a matter of fact, he still is troubled in conscience for having done so. His reasons: an unwillingness to betray the confidence of friends, and a reluctance to expose to publicity and public reproach those of his former associates who, like himself, have since broken with the Party.

3. The decision to talk was his own. Though he had heeded the urgings of Dr. Anderson and others, it was not the fear of reprisal that prompted him to cooperate with Walter, inasmuch as he had never doubted—particularly after Dr. Anderson's statement—that the University would support him whether or not he cooperated with the Committee. Moreover, he had independently and wittingly divested himself of his legal right not to talk, by declining to take refuge in the Fifth Amendment when asked by the House Committee about his own affiliation with the Party—thus opening himself up to prosecution (for contempt of Congress) in the event he persisted in refusing to identify others. (Fuchs, a lawyer, realized, in other words, that by failing to plead the Fifth Amendment in defense of himself he waived the right to do so in behalf of his associates.)

4. He is at a loss to understand the University's position on this count. In July, before he had publicly exposed his associates and when the University had only his word for it that he had left the Party, Dr. Anderson announced that the University intended to stand by him. But after his cooperation with the Walter Committee, Dr. Anderson concluded that the evidence of conversion was insufficient.

Author's Conclusions

So much for the facts and the pleadings, from which one can draw one's own conclusions. Here are mine:

1. President Anderson must assume

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full responsibility (or, if you choose so to look at it, credit) for dismissing Professor Fuchs. True, the Board of Trustees made the final decision; but by that time, Dr. Anderson had committed himself to the "Fuchs must go" position emphatically enough to force the Board to go along or else, in effect, vote no-confidence in the President.

2. Though Dr. Anderson resolutely denies the inconsistency, I believe that his views of July 10 are in obvious and irreconcilable conflict with those Dr. Anderson expressed to me in December. In July he affirmed the "right" of a former Communist "to pursue his chosen professional activities." To take any other action at this time would be beneath the dignity of the institution with Christian relationship and commitment. The question is, why might pressure have been exerted? In December he argued that former Party membership, *eo ipso*, disqualifies a man to teach at The American University. Perhaps Dr. Anderson had a change of heart; perhaps he succumbed to pressure from the outside.

3. I believe the "atheist" and "perjurer" counts are self-serving rationalizations, designed to bolster the University's position on the Communist phase of the case. Both counts, under the circumstances, are unconvincing—especially in the light of Dr. Anderson's statement of July 10.

4. From all the available evidence, American University appears to have embraced one of two positions on the Communist phase of the case, neither of which does it credit. Either the University shares the familiar Liberal prejudice against ex-Communist "informers," and decided after and *only* after Fuchs had cooperated with a "witch-hunting" congressional committee, to take the prejudice out of his hide; or, with a sternness that certainly makes history in academic circles, it gave way to an undifferentiated animus against "ex-Communists," present or past, repentant or unrepentant. If the former explanation is correct, the obvious comment is provoked: a Whittaker Chambers, a Louis Budenz, an Arthur Koestler, more lastingly contributed to the defense of American institutions than have the great majority of their Liberal detractors, together. In the latter case, then Dr. Anderson and The American University have fallen for a brand of anti-Communism that lacks both intelligence and charity. The doctrine that a man who once was a Communist cannot be trusted by the community, no matter how persuasive the evidence pointing to his conversion, is wrong for the same reason that it would have been wrong for the early Christians to order St. Paul out of their churches.

5. Professor Fuchs' conduct, from the time he broke with the party in 1946 until June 1955, was vis-à-vis the conspiracy, unsatisfactory. In allowing nine crucial years to go by without identifying his co-conspirators, he failed to take the only steps open to him which might substantially repair the damage he had done to his country. The nature of one's reluctance to identify one's secret associates has been amply explained by other witnesses, who have written eloquently about their abhorrence of assuming the role of, as the *Daily Worker* puts it, the stool-pigeon. The point is that dedicated witnesses have made the sacrifice and in doing so have acknowledged the need to make it. The action of The American University raises the question whether Dr. Fuchs is substantially ahead of the University in recognizing what it is that needs to be done successfully to combat the conspiracy; and whether that knowledge got him fired.

L. BRENT BOZELL

Dr. Anderson's Letter

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I appreciate your interest in the Fuchs case and I am sure you would not desire to misrepresent the position of The American University. Therefore in an effort to assist you and your readers in understanding our position I am submitting this statement in writing. I cannot agree to permit you or Mr. L. Brent Bozell to state our position for us, or to purport to quote me or any other person or persons through me, on the basis of our brief and incomplete conversations. To permit the latter would make me a party to an inevitably incorrect or inadequate statement. No one can adequately prepare such a statement who has not seen the full record of discussions and observations of our Board of Trustees. These have not been made available either to you or to Mr. Bozell, nor can they be made so available.

The following, however, is an accurate summary of our position: There are, in essence, just two issues involved in this case:

1. Should the private church-related college or university have the right to choose its faculty in light of its stated objectives?

2. Should a congressional committee presume to suggest whom such college or university should employ or not employ?

It is the view of The American University that the first question should be answered with an emphatic *yes*, and that the second question should be answered with a convincing *no*. The perpetuation of free education in America requires these answers. It is our belief that Mr. Hubert [*sic*] Fuchs with his particular background of communist activity, perjury and agnosticism, all of which were discovered only after his summons to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and were not available to us fully until late in the summer, cannot assist us in the perpetuation of a Christian university. We, therefore, do not desire to extend his contract beyond this academic year.

It is further the judgment of our Board of Trustees expressed at its last regular meeting that no social or personal end can be served by further elaborating upon the detailed and careful discussions held, upon which the board reached its final decision:

1. to ask Mr. Fuchs to take a leave of absence for the balance of this academic year with full pay, and

2. to inform Mr. Fuchs that his contract would not be renewed for the next succeeding academic year. (Mr. Fuchs is not on tenure and has only a one-year contract.)

Finally, if you prepare and print an article on this case, I would courteously request that this letter be included in full as the only authorized and approved statement of the position of The American University.

January 7, 1956 HURST R. ANDERSON
President, The American University

Mr. Bozell's Reply

President Anderson's first "brief and incomplete conversation" with me lasted for two hours. Shortly after the interview, Dr. Anderson phoned me requesting that he be permitted to go

(*Continued on p. 30*)

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Kansas

Division in Republican Ranks May Aid Democratic Gains in the Wheat State

SAM M. JONES

Coronado must have long since shed his golden armor by the time he pursued his golden obsession some four hundred years ago into the country we now call Kansas. The indefatigable Conquistador, one of Fate's all-time fools, was treading soil that would ultimately produce wealth beyond even *his* hopeless dreams, but the treasure slept in the seed of the grain, locked in the womb of Time. The modern traveler, indifferent to this epic jest, may find boredom rather than inspiration after the first hundred-mile panorama of golden wheat under a blistering blue. True, there are corn, cattle, oil and a thriving industrial economy, but as the license plates announce and the eyes confirm, Kansas *is* the Wheat State.

If the waving grain is the dominant economic symbol of Kansas, then the equivalent political identification is rugged Republicanism. Kansas in its approximate century of statehood has given the party of Lincoln the largest percentage majority of any state.

When Kansas Republicans fall out (a common and current occurrence) the Democrats have an outside chance for victory, but they have elected only five governors in the state's history, and none was re-elected. Once in a blue moon a Democrat goes to Congress, but seldom for more than a single term. Today the Governor, both Senators, and all six members of the House delegation are Republicans. All, except Senator Schoeppel, who was re-elected in '54, and retiring Representative Clifford Hope, are "up" this year.

Republican majorities have been declining in recent years for two principal reasons: 1) a migration of Democratic industrial workers from other states; and, 2) a long, unterminated battle between the forces contending for control of the Republican Party. A large percentage of the new industrial voters concentrated around Wichita (the nation's third largest aircraft employment center) emigrated from Oklahoma and Missouri. Many are of the "Oakie" type, lifelong Democrats. In 1954 Sedgwick County (Wichita), went Democratic and a number of other counties elected Democrats to local office. The majorities remained Republican in the national and state elections, but the opposition made heavy gains at the county level and in the legislature, where Democratic representation is about 25 per cent.

The current split in the GOP runs deep but is not necessarily irreparable. Governor Alf M. Landon, GOP Presidential nominee in 1936, is once more a potent figure in Kansas politics and it was his guiding hand that brought Hall to the Governor's chair. Landon remains Hall's most sagacious adviser. Senator Carlson's camp includes National Committeeman Harry Darby and former Governor Edward F. Arn. Considerations of economy, as well as other valid reasons, may dictate a temporary truce to avoid a costly and disruptive primary fight. If a truce can be patched up, Hall and Carlson will be renominated without opposition. All members of the House delegation met stiffened competition in the '54 elections, and the prospects for this year look like more of the same, maybe tougher. Only a Democratic tide of momentous national proportions would be capable of breaking Republican control of the House delegation, but present trends indicate that the Democrats may win one or two seats in November.

The first District, which includes Topeka, was won by a Democrat in '52 despite the Eisenhower landslide. It went back to the fold last year, but the incumbent, William Avery, had a bitter six-man fight for the nomination. Strong opposition is anticipated in both primary and general elections.

Errett Scrivner, veteran of the Second District which includes Kansas City, Kansas, has long maintained a firm grip on the only truly marginal political strip in the state. Barring an unforeseeable Democratic deluge, he should be re-elected. Rep. Myron George, in the Third, is unlikely to have much trouble. Edward Rees of Emporia, Fourth District, will probably face an unusually strong opponent, Marvin A. Harder, an assistant professor at the University of Wichita.

Notwithstanding Representative Hope's victory in the Fifth District in '54, Republicans were shocked and Democrats encouraged by the urban vote. Dodge City, Garden City and Liberal all went heavily to the minority party. Mr. Hope is retiring and a dozen or more Republicans are expected to contend for the nomination. Congressman Wint Smith of the Sixth, who won by a narrow margin in '54, has reportedly made a strong gain in constituent support of his conservative record and is expected to overcome any opposition.

Early in his administration, Governor Hall appointed John I. Young of Salina, former head of the Democratic State Committee, to membership on the Kansas Corporation Commission. Some of Hall's critics, Republican and Democratic, charge that the appointment was made to further Young's Senatorial chances. Possibly he might prove to be the strongest Democratic candidate but he is identified with a fading faction of the party, controlled by National Committeeman Kenneth T. Anderson of Emporia. Leigh Warner of Cimarron, a 30,000-acre wheat farmer, stockman and insurance executive, heads another faction. A third group, under the leadership of Carl V. Rice, of Kansas City, Kansas, is smaller but usually more effective than either the Anderson or Warner wing.

There is growing talk among Democrats, too, of a truce to end division. The terms most frequently discussed call for a program whereby the Warner group would support Young for the Senate while the Anderson segment would depend largely on the percentage of anti-Carlson Republicans that would go along with Young, and how many anti-Hall Republicans would accept Warner. Both Democrats are highly respected and both come from Western Kansas, where farm discontent is strong. If they are to have a chance to win, however, they will need all this and something more than the present schism in the Republican Party. Anything can happen, but the Wheat State is still Republican.

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Memo to Colonel Nasser

The following memorandum by an itinerant scholar, on a previous effort to domesticate the Nile, may interest Egypt's planners—and our readers

Present-day authors on planning are unfortunately prone to ascribe the glamor of originality to what is in reality merely a revival of a recurrent movement that has manifested itself at one point or another in almost every civilization and culture of which we have anything like a complete historical record.

Certain fragmentary Mayan documents, for example, testify to the existence of a strong agricultural planning movement circa A.D. 1350,[1] and the scholar Alcibiades mentions a controversy between several Athenian citizens and the Piraeus Port Authority over the quartering of slaves in the sections zoned for freemen's residences.[2] Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant, comments with admiration on the economic planning of the Fl'ing Dynasty, which was an early attempt to level out business cycles and stimulate full use of resources by the careful timing of public works and public executions.[3] During the Graeco-Trojan War, the hastily-established All-Hellenic Planning Board was constantly attempting to coordinate military, naval, and economic activities,[4] but it fell from power shortly after the incident of the Wooden Horse, which the Planning Board had damned as "doomed to failure because the plan has not been preceded by the collection of sufficient basic data."[5] During the Spanish Inquisition the planning movement made itself very unpopular with the Church by advocating "coordination of research and inquisition at all levels of government to avoid duplication of effort,"[6] but it redeemed itself at the end of the fifteenth century when it advised King Ferdinand not to allocate any relief funds to a Genoese adventurer named Christopher Columbus until his project had been cleared by the Royal Iberian Board of Maps and Surveys.[7] One of the first and finest "modern" examples of "planning from the ground up" is embalmed in the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, into which the Holy Roman Resources Board wrote the doctrine of *"ejus regio, cujus religio,"* a form of religious self-determination from the ground up which kept central Europe in almost constant strife for two centuries.[8]

Planning on the North American continent manifested itself for the first time during the discussions of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1788-89, when a small group of "planning-minded" thinkers drew up a rough draft of a proposed Union on a regional basis, with provisions prohibiting pressure politics and limiting graft to a minimum. This scheme was regarded as impractical, however, and was never introduced into the Convention. The only way we have any knowledge of these proposals, in fact, is that Benjamin Franklin used the back of several pages of the draft to make some rough sketches of a self-emptying privy.[9]

These few scattered references do not, of course, purport to be exhaustive, nor perhaps even truly representative: I have perhaps quoted too exclusively from the successful examples of planning, and have glossed over lightly the undeniable failures. There are—for who could deny it?—periods of history when planning *as such* has had little influence on the course of human events; there have been major set-backs to the planning movement; but what movement can claim to be free from these reverses? Annoying as they are to those personally involved in the planning picture at the time, we who can take the long historical view recognize that Planning *as such* (i.e., undefiled by action) is one of the Eternal Verities, and that it always will, always *must* rise phoenix-like from the ashes of its own suicendiarism to build a bigger, a newer, a better-coordinated pyre.

Optimism? Perhaps. Faith? Assuredly. Hope? Of a certainty. But Optimism and Faith and Hope based on past accomplishments. The world goes ever forward: there is no turning back. Progress is that which, in retrospect, we observe to have happened. The process of planning peristalsis which will ultimately bring the movement to fruition cannot be long reversed: human betterment cannot be impacted in the colon of a less-than-perfect society.

Only Direction—Up

Certain of my colleagues have criticized this attitude of mine, maintaining that it is not justified either by history or by the nature of the beast Homo Sapiens.[10] To this I can only answer that they do not know history as well as I do. In support of my contention let me urge my readers to turn to the inspiring record of Planning Through the Ages as presented in my recent book *Plans and Planners of Other Days: An Argosy of Real-Life Drama,* published by the King Features Syndicate and available this month only for $1.59 at your bookseller's. This work proves conclusively that the only way planning can move is Up, but I would like to cite an additional instance from early historical times—an example which I could not include in my book because the facts have so recently come to my attention. The source of my information is an ancient papyrus manuscript, evidently of the time of the Pharaoh Nwab'i Ch'ow, founder of the Dew'or Dynasty, approximately Twelfth Century B.C.

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[1]Meyer, G.: *Early American Civilizations,* vol. XI, p. 47 ff.
[2]Alcibiades: *De politica athenirum* (Bowman trans.) II, 164
[3]*Scribendi Marcii Polii* (Davlin ed.), *Chinese travels* IV, pp. 46 et seq.
[4]Homer, *Iliad,* ch. 4, *Odyssey,* tome I, ch. 3 (Church trans., Fiske ed.)
[5]All-Hellenic Planning Board, *Progress Report,* 64 Y.U. (543 B.C.) p. 4
[6]Torquemada, *Memories of a Happy Life* (Madrid, 1450), ch. 7
[7]Columbus, Christopher: *The Egg Trick,* XIX Ann. Eur. Soc. Parlor Magicians (1499) p. 365
[8]Holy Roman Resources Board: *Problems of a Decimated Population.* Williams, E. B. *Some Reflections on the Treaty of Westphalia, with 27 Woodcuts by Rockwell Kent*
[9]Beard, Chas. A.: *The Story of the Constitution* (1937) p. 455
[10]See, e.g., Malinowski: *Sex Life of the Savages,* ch. 7; Alcott, L., *Little Women;* St. Augustine: *De civitati Dei, lib.* vii; Sterne, L.: *Tristram Shandy,* bk. 3; or Grimm: *Every Boy's Fairy Book,* p. 359.

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Unfortunately this manuscript was burned in the fire at the library in Alexandria, but I have been lucky enough to obtain a photostatic copy through a Phoenician sailor who commanded one of the Roman ships on the Egyptian Campaign. The hieroglyphics are exquisitely made and the language refined, bespeaking a cultured gentleman of the *twad'l* (or intellectual) class, and the manuscript was probably written with a *pa'ka* feather ("The Lifetime Quill"), at that time available only to the government officials of the grade of *s'nob* or higher. There is considerable evidence, therefore, that this manuscript is the work of an intelligent and cultured *s'nob* or *g'oon* of the Egyptian government about 3300 years ago. A fairly close translation is appended below without comment:

"In the third year of the reign of the gracious and merciful Nwab'i Ch'ow it came to pass that the Nile was angered, and began to rise above her banks. Up the stream many peasants were drowned and many houses carried away by the dark waters, but at Cairo the palace of the Pharaoh was protected by a large dike with retaining levees, so the court was not much concerned about this flood. One day, however, a palace guard came breathless before the Pharaoh and reported that the dike around the palace was weakening, and that it would not last many more days. So the Pharaoh cut off his head for bringing bad tidings, and called his planning board.

" 'Gentlemen,' said the Pharaoh, 'we are faced with a limited emergency. The dike outside the palace is in some danger of collapse, and I would like to have you make plans for strengthening it. I don't want any of your landscaping on top of the dike, and I might as well tell you that you cannot keep the Nile out by zoning this as 'dry land.' You must get to work on something fundamental. If you succeed, I will reward you well —I will even make you permanent; but if you fail I will personally with my own hands tie you to a tree and watch the water rise over your heads.' And with those words he turned back to his lyre and lotus brandy and a dark-skinned lady from up near the Second Cataract.

"So the Planning Board hired some offices and got an allocation from the Treasury and they appointed regional consultants in remote sections of Egypt and they assembled a great technical staff from the leading Universities, and sat down with some scratch-papyrus to map a program.

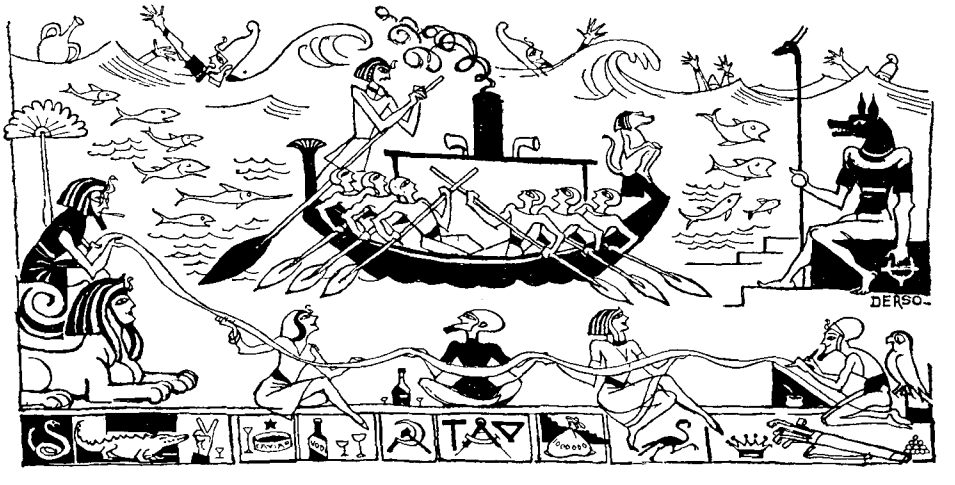
A Standard Deviation

" 'Our first need' they cried, 'is for Basic Data. We cannot plan without facts.' So they set up a Committee to Correct Deficiencies in Hydrologic Data, and the Committee sent out field agents to interrogate the oldest inhabitants as to the behavior of the river; what was the highest flood crest within their memory, what was the secular trend, if any, and what was the periodicity of recurrence. Since many of these old gaffers had bad memories, their stories did not always click, so the Committee hired a lot of statisticians who reconciled the conflicting accounts by establishing a standard deviation. This was multiplied by the square root of pi, and was called simply The Index.

"In the meantime another subcommittee had been set up to investigate the causes of the weakness in the existing dike. 'If we cannot profit by past mistakes,' the Board announced in the *Egyptian Planning Quarterly*, 'we might make the same mistakes again.' The Committee on Past Mistakes, realizing the need for Comprehensive Planning, appointed several study groups to deal with Engineering Aspects, Social Aspects, Human Aspects, and Fiscal Aspects; and a special group of sociologists considered Community Life in a Planned Monarchy.

"The reports of these groups attracted wide attention in planning circles: the Engineering group reported that the dike was leaking because of defective rip-rapping and excessive seepage, but nobody paid any attention to them because they were so pedestrian and obviously had the narrow, biased viewpoint of an "action agency." It was the other reports that really made a stir. The Social group informed the Board that there was not enough play-space on the dike for the underprivileged children of the nearby marshes; that four out of seven dike families were spending less than 20 sesterces per capita per annum for leafy green vegetables; and that the dike itself acted as an arbitrary social barrier between the river-boat people and the marsh-dwellers. It recommended a sweeping investigation of relief administration, and advocated the deportation of aliens who had become public charges. The group on Fiscal Aspects brought out the fact that all the bonds on the dike had not yet been amortized, and that at the present rate it would take twenty years to do so. It also discovered that the dike, which was government property and therefore tax-free, was in no less than four overlapping tax districts (the Kingdom of Egypt, the County of Cairo; the city of Cairo, and the Lower Nile Conservancy District). The group recommended a drastic overhauling of 'our antiquated tax system, the elimination of obsolete units of government, and curtailment of the excessive governmental expenditures.'

"All this time the dark waters of the Nile were rising, and the seepage through the dike was faster. The Pharaoh had moved his lyre and lotus brandy upstairs, and sent his girl friend home in a skiff, and the Planning Board sent him an Interim Prog-



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ress Report calling for more Basic Data, comprehensive approach to the problems, and coordinated effort at all levels of government.

"The next step of the Planning Board was to make a Master Plan. This Plan provided for the comprehensive development of the Nile all the way from Lake Tsana to the Delta —it was a social as well as a physical plan for the wise conservation and utilization of all Egypt's resources, both human and natural. At the last minute one of the despised Engineers got them to include the strengthening of the dam around the palace, but they would have preferred to exclude it, since it was a small detail that could be filled in later in accordance with 'the broad principles and objectives blocked out with a bold hand in the master plan.' After the master plan had been 'boldly blocked out' it went through several revisions which carefully emasculated anything that might offend the landowners upstream or that might not meet the approval of the 'cooperating agencies.' The Master Plan was then printed up in tentative form and circulated 'for technical review' among the leading scholars and public officials of the country, while the Board went on a short vacation trip on a steamer up the Nile to rest from its labors.

Basic Data Secured

"Everybody said they were crazy to go out on a boat when the river was in flood, and the Pharaoh reminded them of the punishment that awaited them if they did not arrange for buttressing the dike. But they said there was no use in devising hasty plans without adequate basic data, or in failing to see the wood for the trees; so they left their comprehensive plan for criticism by the experts, and they left their regional officers in charge of integrating anything that came up, and off they went, up the angry Nile.

"The day after they left the dike gave way, and the Nile poured over the city of Cairo, and everybody was drowned (including the Pharaoh) except the planners. When they came back, and found their plans had washed away with everything else, they said, 'Well, it wasn't a very good plan anyway.' And they sat down and started to draft another one."

Here the manuscript ends.

ON THE LEFT . . . C. B. R.

Seeking Shelter. In desperation because of current proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board to declare the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America a Communist-infiltrated organization—proceedings which would deprive the organization of bargaining rights—UE leaders are dickering behind the scenes with James B. Carey, president, and other leaders of the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO). It is alleged that Carey appeared before the UE executive board with Harry Block, IUE vice president, and Les Finegan, Carey's assistant. Negotiations have been going on since September 1955. If the UE succeeded in being incorporated within the IUE, it would be a life-saver for the Communist UE leaders. Carey, who was instrumental in expelling the UE from the CIO, has denied that the UE will be successful in securing a haven within the AFL-CIO.

Middle of the Road. It is standard Communist practice to set up a so-called "middle-of-the-road" regime in order to defeat an anti-Communist group in power, as a stepping stone toward later outright Red domination. This has been true in Poland, China and elsewhere. Hence it comes as no surprise to find the *Daily Worker*'s movie and TV critic, David Platt, hailing the victory of the "middle-of-the-road" slate for candidates to the executive board of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists over the anti-Communist Aware group.

Communist Line on Congress. Through Albert E. Blumberg and Rob Hall, the Communist Party has laid down its line on Congress. These spokesmen expressed complete agreement with the CIO "Report on Congress: '55," which declared, "In the battle against McCarthyism and the recent wave of hysteria . . . the 84th Congress made *real* progress." They called upon the "liberal wing, with its 20 to 25 votes in the Senate," to "speak out vigorously" in order to bring "pressure to bear upon their party leadership and upon Congress." Included among the tasks for which the Communists seek the support of "Left-progressives" is the "repeal of the McCarran - Walter immigration law" and the extension of the "current Hennings Committee investigation." One means of "pressure" recommended is "visits to individual Congressmen."

Build Reuther. From top-flight Communist levels has come the word to the comrades in the AFL-CIO: "Build Reuther, bust Meany." Almost three-quarters of a page of the *Daily Worker* was devoted to Walter Reuther's speech before the AFL-CIO unity convention.

Lawyers International. The International Association of Democratic Lawyers is the international Communist front in the legal field. While the National Lawyers Guild has not been formally affiliated with it since 1950 or 1951, Guild leaders have in the past played an important role. In his report on the IADL in the *Lawyers Guild Review* of September-October 1946, Martin Popper credits the National Lawyers Guild with the initiative in forming the IADL. In 1948 he was a general secretary of the IADL, while Robert W. Kenny, then Attorney General of California and president of the National Lawyers Guild, was a vice president. Robert J. Silberstein, NLG secretary, who invoked the Fifth Amendment regarding his Communist Party membership, attended the Rome conference of the IADL in 1949.

The IADL has been actively anti-American since its inception in 1946. At the outset it challenged the "conservative traditions" of the International Law Association, initiated by the American Bar Association. At its third conference, in Prague in September 1948, it assailed "the American expansionists and their agents [who] want to handcuff all mankind and turn the whole planet into a police station under American supervision." The Berlin conference of 1951 denounced "the criminal aggression measures of the American imperialists in various parts of the world" and "intervention" in Korea.

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Letter from the Continent

ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Never in history has there been such a plentiful Christmas in Europe. Record sales are reported, and the statistics published at year's end showed unmistakably that the working class has reached a new high in its well-being. There are, of course, groups like the lower and middle middle-class, the "new proletariat," below 1914 standards; but, due to its lack of organization, this group counts much less, politically, than labor. Western Europe, on the whole, is in a self-congratulatory mood, and this in spite of the fact that the "spirit of Geneva" has been quietly buried. It seems that Western Europe is comfortably settling down on the rim of the abyss.

The Austrian press has written about a phenomenal influx of Soviet citizens into Austria, all to live there as diplomatic or commercial attachés, ready to pay tremendous prices for villas and huge rents for apartments; but the public remains apathetic. (It is interesting to note that some of the Soviet diplomats who had made propaganda for Austria's neutralization are now moving to Bonn; among them Kudryavtsev, an understudy for the last Soviet High Commissioner for Austria.

Yet the Germans are less nervous about the mammoth Soviet Embassy which is moving into Bonn than they are about Konrad Adenauer who, enjoying perfect health, celebrated his eightieth birthday in the first week of January—a considerable age even for a man who spurns alcohol and cigarettes and thrives on chocolate. The bookstores are displaying an avalanche of books on Adenauer (collected cartoons, biographies, monographs, volumes of photographs); and there can be no doubt that since the days of Bismarck and Hitler no political leader has captivated German imagination as much as *Der Alte*. He is, no doubt, a real autocrat, yet that is precisely what seems needed in this part of Europe. He draws his prestige from the fact that he is old; that he had troubles with the Allies (the British Labor government removed him from Cologne's city hall in 1945, declaring that he did not have the qualifications for running a city as big as Cologne!); that he addresses the Germans in a benevolently paternal manner; and that he is a devout Christian. Come to think of it, all outstanding statesman of Western Europe are of pre-World War One vintage. They started their careers at a time when government with a monarchical head was still the fashion and certain superior qualities were required to attract a somewhat sifted and restricted electorate. In Europe, the currently viable age for a statesman is ten years older than that at which a person in the U.S. ceases to be Presidential timber.

I was in Paris ten days before the recent French election and spoke with many Frenchmen, influential and otherwise. They all made predictions about the results, and all were right, except that Poujade gained and the former De Gaullists lost even more than generally predicted. The Communists profited hugely from the absence of "centrist" coalitions—that split in the "Center" which is due to the feud between Mendès-France and Faure. If Mendès-France wants to return to power he has either to gang up with the Communists or regretfully make his peace with the "Right," i.e., with Faure.

Yet the American reader should not be impressed by these sonorous terms "right" and "left," "Catholic" and "anti-clerical." Mendès-France, who is of Portuguese-Jewish ancestry and belongs to a party which fifty years ago was the Masonic vehicle of violent anticlericalism (the "Radical Socialists" who are neither radicals nor Socialists), today has the support of a fanatical group of liberal Catholics led by François Mauriac. Moreover, he receives limited support from Charles de Gaulle, who approved the former Premier's North African policy of reconciliation and his efforts to rally France internally. Faure, on the other hand, is supported by the "regular" Catholic vote, yet the laws which made (indirect) state support for Catholic schools possible were not engineered by the Catholic M.R.P. but are the work of former De Gaullists and "Independents" (sometimes not wrongly called "Conservatives").

Mendès-France, who also gets socialist cooperation, will certainly remain on the political scene which has been "enriched" by Poujade, a man who, behind his demagogical exterior, is a great reader (he started out with a bookstore) and speaks of himself as a former disciple of Charles Maurras. Luckily for him, he has (like de Gaulle, another ex-Maurrassien) a clear anti-Nazi record. Quite possibly behind the smoke-screen of anti-tax propaganda there lives in the camp of the Poujadists a new (and old) ideology eager to re-enter politics. One should, I think, carefully study a poster in the streets of Paris: a veteran of World War One, and deportee of World War Two, appeals to his French compatriots to change the Constitution. Without saying it in so many words, the text advocates something like the U.S. Constitution with Presidential power—not parliamentarianism or "more democracy."

The French democratic Republic has been morally dead for some time; and it "hangs around" physically because nobody, so far, has had the courage to assume the role of the undertaker—except the Communists, to whom the rest of the country does not want to concede this role. In France, the U.S. State Department and the British Foreign Office restored in 1945 a system of government which was bankrupt twenty years before. It continues only because people are afraid a) that its reversal might provoke another totalitarian dictatorship, thus destroying a much cherished personal liberty; b) that the West's economic and military support might be stopped if its political exports were rejected; and c) that the Communists might act as the defenders of "democracy."

There is not one great political leader on the French scene, and certainly not among the French. The Bourbon Pretender is a very shrewd man with a beautiful wife and eleven children. He writes clever articles which sometimes are even cited in the Assembly, but he is decidedly left-of-center and has most of his friends among the "Radical Socialists."

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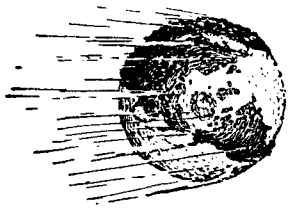

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Pangs of Friendship

It was reported from Karachi a few days ago that a number of Pakistani political leaders want their country to cancel its present agreements with Washington, and to withdraw from the Anglo-American sponsored Baghdad Pact. They have a plain argument. The United States, they point out, is not supporting Pakistan in either of its two major international difficulties—the dispute with India over Kashmir, and Afghanistan's campaign to form a new "Pathan" nation (Pushtunistan) by combining northwestern Pakistan with southeastern Afghanistan.

Both of these issues are decisive for Pakistan's national survival. The sources of Pakistan's principal rivers are in Kashmir. The Afghan-promoted new nation would include the Khyber Pass, and thus open up Pakistan's strategic frontier not merely to the Afghans (who are subordinate actors in this scene) but to the Russians a step beyond.

For several years, Pakistan has been one of the firmest among the new countries in resisting Soviet encroachments and combatting internal Communism. Except on certain "colonial" matters, she has usually been willing to line up with us: or at any rate, her record, from the American point of view, has been a big jump better than that of the "neutralist" nations. (A "neutralist" nation, roughly defined, is one that professes to be on neither side and acts on Moscow's side.)

The Pakistani doubters ask, not unreasonably, whether their country's circumspectly pro-American policy makes sense. For the risk, the great risk, that even the faintest pro-Americanism runs in their part of the world, what does Pakistan get out of it?

Reward for Blows

Two days following these Karachi reports there came a dispatch from New Delhi that must have added a new piquancy to Pakistani pondering. India has just consented to accept an American gift of $10 million worth of steel. (That brings our government's six-year gifts to India up to $250 million, besides loans of nearly $200 million and private foundation grants of about $50 million.) The sequence of events is obscure to no one. The Indian Government officially promotes the triumphal tour of Khrushchev and Bulganin. At its conclusion, Nehru and his Soviet visitors issue a joint declaration of solidarity on the most important international issues. Throughout the just concluded meeting of the UN Assembly, India is a consistent supporter of the Soviet position, a consistent and harsh opponent of the U.S. position.

Ergo, the United States gives India another $10 million—with much more, apparently, soon to come. It is by such performances that our State Department makes itself the world's laughing stock.

Lesson in Logic

What possible conclusion is there for a Pakistan official, or any man with a small minimum of common sense, to draw? One only, from the evidence: show your friendship with the United States, your opposition to the Soviet Union and to Communism, and Washington will be indifferent to you at best, if it does not kick you in the face; play up to Moscow, echo Communist language, sabotage American plans, and the sky is the limit so far as Washington is concerned.

This Pakistan example is only a particularly crude cutting on a well-worn pattern. Colonel Nasser in Cairo has learned his lesson from professors Nehru and Tito. The obsolescent Czech arms that he is buying may not be worth much to Egypt's army, but they are powerful enough to blow wide open the vaults of the U.S. Treasury. Tito has worked the dodge for a take of a billion dollars. Or consider the reverse example of Guatemala: how Washington's generous alarm, interest and promises dried up once Arbenz and his Communists were defeated! If Castillo Armas doesn't want to go broke, he had better discover a renewed Communist threat before long.

It is all very well for the Voice of America to quote the Declaration of Independence and to praise liberty over slavery. But the Voice of America won't guarantee Pakistan's water supply nor man the Khyber Pass; nor will it provide favorable conditions for Pakistan's necessary economic development. The Fathers of our country never tired of repeating that a nation's foreign relations are in general governed by interest, not by gratitude or abstract principle—and properly so. But we seem to be the exception.

Conditioned Aid

One key to these troubles is the absurd, hypocritical and immoral doctrine of "unconditioned aid" which we have been accepting as a principle of our last decade's foreign policy. "Absurd," because if the aid is truly unconditioned, it is pointless. "Hypocritical," because we and everyone else know that we hope for something in return. And also "immoral," because no government has the moral right to spend the substance of its citizens unless on a reasonable assurance of a recompense to them. In governments, the virtue of charity is transformed into a disguised breach of trust.

Specific, well understood conditions are the only excuse for a gift by one government to another (or another's citizens). For every *quid* there should be a balancing *quo*: if not always dollar for dollar, then harbors or airfields, strategic materials, radio stations, military training agreements, even diplomatic help, but always something, something specific, something to one's own national interest.

We should treat the neutralist fuss over "conditions" on aid with scorn, as the blackmail it is. And if we always demand something in return for what is given, the result will be to improve, not embitter, our relations with the other parties to the bargain. We will be treating them as moral peers, not as beggars to whom we toss a handout. By showing that we want something from them and are willing to pay honestly for it, we can only add to their self respect, and thereby—as always follows—to their respect for us.

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The PRINTED Word

JONATHAN MITCHELL

A Week with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* in an editorial of December 30, 1955, pronounced on President Eisenhower's pious year-end hope that the satellite states of Eastern Europe would some day be free, and on Khrushchev's counter-blast of "crude interference." Said the *Post-Dispatch*:

"The real question, for both the Kremlin and the West, is whether the continuance of this stale and somewhat childish propaganda duel offers any substantial rewards for either side. It is something like 'My pop kin lick your pop.' Actually, whether or not 'our ideas kin lick your ideas' will depend in each case upon deep historical forces that are affected very little by the reiteration of boastful predictions.

"Khrushchev touched the heart of the matter when he acknowledged that history will make the decision between the two systems, and when he again declared that 'in our struggle for Communism, we will never start an aggressive war.' Neither will the West start an aggressive war to liberate Eastern Europe or otherwise expand the free world. But if this is so, why would it not be sensible for both sides also to renounce propaganda warfare and efforts to incite subversion or insurrection?

"Cold reality suggests that Communist nations, democratic nations, socialist nations, capitalist nations, and mixed-middle-neutral nations are all going to have to live in the same world for a long time—or perish in a common catastrophe. We would all be wise to get used to living together—even though we may not like it."

The Pipelines

Just before Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller's recent resignation as a Presidential aide, the White House group to which he belonged had a notable victory. Mr. Eisenhower was persuaded to make foreign aid permanent, and to ask for long-term commitments and funds from Congress. Other triumphs of the group in the last few months have been the aerial-inspection disarmament plan put forward by Mr. Eisenhower at Geneva, and the atom peace ship he recommended to Congress.

The *Post-Dipatch,* however, has inside information. Malign conservative pressures in Washington are hampering the White House group:

"This 'mellifluous exchange' [of letters between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Rockefeller] did not impress either Roscoe Drummond or the Alsop brothers, Joseph and Stewart, since each has discounted it heavily. Mr. Drummond, who heads the Washington bureau of the *New York Herald Tribune,* a leading Republican voice in journalism, wrote that Mr. Rockefeller had no intention of resigning until frustrations outnumbered achievements three to one.

"The Alsop brothers whose articles are also syndicated by the *Herald Tribune* said flatly that 'Rockefeller would never have left his post if the advice he gave in the recent struggle over next year's budget had not proved unpalatably insistent and forthright.' This put Mr. Rockefeller into conflict with Treasury Secretary Humphrey and the Eisenhower Administration's other 'budget-firsters.' And so Mr. Rockefeller decided it was not worthwhile staying on in Washington.

"This is more or less a repetition of the experience of C. D. Jackson, Mr. Rockefeller's predecessor. Former publisher of *Fortune* who worked hard to elect Mr. Eisenhower in 1952, Mr. Jackson was gladly lent to the White House by the strongly pro-Eisenhower Luce publishing management. To his 'cold war' work Mr. Jackson took an extensive psychological warfare experience in Africa and Europe under Gen. Eisenhower in World War II. Yet it was not long before he was discouraged by uncertain and conflicting policies. The long reign of McCarthyism in the Republican Eighty-third Congress completed the disillusionment and Mr. Jackson went back to magazine publishing.

"Who, it may be wondered, will the President get to take up a job that both C. D. Jackson and Nelson A. Rockefeller have left after less than 18 months in it? Who could see it as anything but a hopeless assignment, under present conditions?"

It Takes One to Know One

In a full-page New Year's editorial (January 1, 1956) the *Post-Dispatch* continued its exploration of liberalism and conservatism within the Eisenhower Administration. Possibly because it was not depending on its special pipelines, it took a more optimistic view of the Liberals' influence, placing upon their heads, in a gush of enthusiasm, the laurels once worn by President Roosevelt:

"For at least half the year this contest for the White House will be against the background of the second session of the Eighty-fourth Congress, controlled, by vote of the people in 1954, by the Democrats. Both parties will be trying to make records that they can take to the voters, and there are predictions that the Eisenhower command will attempt to out-New Deal the Democrats in support for extension and enlargement of social welfare programs undertaken originally in the Franklin D. Roosevelt years . . . .

"Yet whatever the differences between the two parties in Congress, there is much on which they must join. The challenge of the Soviets in Southeast Asia and the Middle East is not going to be met by partisan civil war here at home.

"Fortunately for the Administration, Congress is no longer in the hands of the Bridgeses, McCarthys, Jenners and Brickers who would take over foreign affairs as a province of self-serving Senators, to be exploited by them at will.

"The White House can be grateful for the bi-partisan leadership of Senator George of Georgia, the dean of the Senate, even though before the end of the year it doubtless will be calling for a G.O.P. Senate and hence a return to the Bridges-McCarthy-Jenner-Bricker rule and all which that entails. For such are the inconsistencies of party politics!"

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Mill's 'On Liberty' Reconsidered

RUSSELL KIRK

Among the more interesting revivals of recent years is the resuscitation of John Stuart Mill. Mr. St. John Packe's life of Mill, Professor Hayek's *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor,* and scholarly editions of the younger Mill's works have aroused a great deal of critical interest. Still more significant, perhaps, is the role which Mill fills in the writings of Mr. David Riesman. Mr. Riesman, indeed, is very nearly John Stuart Mill preserved in amber: the model of the "inner-directed man" in *The Lonely Crowd* is Mill; and the ideas of "individualism" and "autonomy" which are discussed in that book and in *Individualism Reconsidered* are drawn, for the most part, from Mill's writings. Yet the world of liberal optimism and progress which was Mill's has been dissolving the whole of this century, and no philosopher seems more refuted by the great tendency of things than Mill. The French Revolution did not deal Kant's theories so bitter a blow as the Russian Revolution, technological change, and the revival of theology have dealt to Mill's theories. Mill's *Essay on Liberty* is the key to his strength and his weakness.

Some books form the character of their age; others reflect it; and Mill's *Liberty* is of the latter order. This is not to say that it was uninfluential, nor that it is quite irrelevant to our time. *On Liberty* has been kept in print ever since it was published in 1859, and is the most widely read of all liberal tracts. But the little book is a product of the tranquillity and optimism of Victorian England; quite literally, it is *dated;* written at the summit of what Bagehot calls the Age of Discussion, it is a voice from out the vanished past of nineteenth-century meliorism. The future, after all, was not to the school of Mill. Thus the essay lacks the energetic and prophetic qualities of St. Augustine's *City of God,* or Calvin's *Institutes,* or Rousseau's *Social Contract,* or Burke's *Reflections,* or Marx's *Capital,* each of which helped to shape the age that was dawning, and all of which probably contain greater meaning for us nowadays than John Stuart Mill's work. As John Stuart Mill himself was the last of the distinguished line of British empiricists, so his *Liberty,* with its foreboding remarks on the despotism of the masses, was more an epilogue to middle-class liberalism than a rallying-cry.

No Simple Formulas

In his essays on Coleridge and Bentham, Mill had remarked quite truly that the cardinal error of Bentham was his supposition that the affairs of men may be reduced to a few simple formulas, to be applied universally and inflexibly—when in truth the great mysterious incorporation of the human race is infinitely subtle and complex, not to be governed by neat little abstractions.

Yet into precisely this same pit Mill falls in the *Essay on Liberty.* In his introductory chapter, he declares his object to be the assertion of one "very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealing of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means used be physical force in the form of legal penalties, or moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." This is an attractive solitary simple principle; but the trouble with it is that solitary simple principles, however tidy, really do not describe human behavior, and certainly cannot govern it.

James Fitzjames Stephen, a forthright man of affairs and scholar of high attainment, perceived with irritation the fallacy which makes Mill's *Liberty* a frail reed in troubled times; and in *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,* which Stephen published in 1873, he sets upon Mill with a whip of scorpions. That book, long out of print, demolished Mill's latter-day Utilitarianism, so that if one takes up the two tracts nowadays, it is scarcely possible to understand how Mill's essay has become almost holy writ for liberals in the English-speaking world. Yet so long as material progress seemed to be the wave of the future, and so long as representative government and humanitarian reform seemed destined to subdue the dark passions of the human heart in every corner of the modern world, Stephen's gloomy vaticinations were derided as the fancies of obscurantism. We are compelled to look upon matters in another light today, a century after Mill wrote. J. S. Mill, in Stephen's eyes, was hopelessly naive:

> To me the question whether liberty is a good or bad thing appears as irrational as the question whether fire is a good or a bad thing. It is both good and bad according to time, place, and circumstance, and a complete answer to the question, In what cases is liberty good and in what cases is it bad? would involve not merely a universal history of mankind, but a complete solution of the problems which such a history would offer. I do not believe that the state of our knowledge is such as to enable us to enunciate any "very simple principle as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control." We must proceed in a far more cautious way, and confine ourselves to such remarks as experience suggests about the advantages and disadvantages of compulsion and liberty respectively in particular cases.

History Supplies Proof

In every principal premise of his argument, Stephen declared, Mill suffered from an inadequate understanding of human nature and history. All the great movements of humankind, said Stephen, have been achieved by force, not by free discussion; and if we leave force out of our calculations, very soon we will be subject to the intolerant wills of men who have no scruples about employing force against us. It is consummate folly to tolerate every variety of opinion, on every topic, out of devotion to an abstract

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"liberty"; for opinion soon finds its expression in action, and the fanatics whom we tolerated will not tolerate us when they have power.

The great current of events, in our century, has supplied the proof for Stephen's case. Was the world improved by free discussion of the Nazis' thesis that Jews ought to be treated as less than human? Just this subject was presented to the population of one of the most advanced and thoroughly schooled nations of the modern world: it was fully discussed; and then that nation, or rather the crew of adventurers who had contrived to win the argument, acted after the fashion with which we are now dreadfully familiar. We have come to understand, to our cost, what Burke meant by a "licentious toleration." Kerensky, when he refused General Konev permission to put down the Bolshevik mutineers because that would be an illiberal resort to force, was a dutiful pupil of J. S. Mill; but we know the consequences. An incessant zeal for repression is not the answer to the complex problem of liberty, either; but what Stephen was saying, and what we realize now, is that liberty cannot be maintained or extended by an abstract appeal to free discussion, sweet reasonableness, and solitary simple principle.

The present perplexed discussion over pornography and censorship is another case in point. John Stuart Mill and his school assumed that every man is the best judge of his own actions and welfare, competent to choose for himself what he will read or hear, to be restrained only by his own enlightened self-interest (reinforced by universal education) from indulging depraved tastes or entertaining fallacious notions. Mill's only important qualification of these doctrines was the remark that a man does not have the right to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater. He was convinced that if truth and falsity are allowed to compete in the modern market place, truth is sure to prevail.

The experience of the twentieth century scarcely sustains this dream of sweet reasonableness, and general literacy often has been accompanied, not by an elevation of taste, but by the debasing of the "reading" of adults and children. The old-style disciple of Mill still is vociferous, true enough: Bertrand Russell, writing in *Encounter* in July 1954, declared that he would like to see every sort of censorship abolished, in the belief that the resulting flood of pornography would last only a few years and then the public would lose the taste for it, out of boredom. Mr. David Riesman, in *Individualism Reconsidered*, suggests that the people who desire censorship are "anti-intellectuals," trying to "outlaw the worldly and the educated . . . a sign of their resentment of their inferior status in the traditional hierarchies of prestige and comprehension." Professor Commager declares that "we cannot too often repair to Mill's *Liberty*."

But the more thoughtful opponents of these Victorian liberal doctrines, during the past several years—Professor Francis Graham Wilson eminent among them—have suggested that the mind has its slums; and the society which does not object to these slums is liable to find itself overwhelmed by its own moral proletariat. Standards abandoned, it is by no means probable that any natural law, even operating over two or three hundred years, will persuade the mass of men, unguided, to prefer the good in literature and politics to the evil. As Dean Fitch recently suggested, the "liberty" of which Professor Commager writes is all a liberty of negation, and all Mr. Commager's values turn fuzzy at the edges. There is no liberty of moral worth in Mill, but only a liberty of defiant individuality.

Menace of the Mass Age

Yet though Mill now seems shortsighted in many particulars, in other matters he touches upon difficulties which are more important now than they were in his own day. In Chapter III, "Of Individuality," he discusses the menace of mass-society, the deadening influence of conformity to a dreary mediocrity of opinion, which impends in our time with an awful urgency over every nation that still retains some measure of freedom. Tocqueville analyzes this problem more cogently than does Mill; nevertheless, Mill's observations have renewed significance. Even here, however, *Liberty* is dated: Mill thinks that the peril is an unthinking obedience to the dictates of custom; while in actuality, a century later, the real danger is that custom and tradition and prescription will be overthrown utterly by neoterism, the lust after novelty, the fads of the "other-directed individual"—that men will be no better than the flies of a summer, oblivious to the wisdom of their ancestors, and forming every opinion solely under the influence of the fancy of the hour. Mill's projected check upon this deadening conformity of the mass age is a deliberate encouragement of eccentricity, such as Riesman would have his "autonomous" individual cultivate; but that erratic remedy was exposed for what it is by Stephen, and is similarly torn to shreds by the best recent critic of Mill's thought, Mr. R. P. Anschutz, in his *Philosophy of J. S. Mill*:

> This is simply to substitute one error for another—bohemian nonsense for bourgeois nonsense. Whatever the capacities of any man, in any walk of life, he will necessarily spend a large part of his time in assimilating the traditions of his calling. After that he is usually engaged in a perpetual struggle to be equal to them. It is this which provides the content of his individuality. The assumption of the sort of self-sufficiency that Mill recommends will prevent him from attaining any individuality at all.

But whatever the deficiencies of *Liberty*, it remains a book to rouse our minds to the complexities of its subject. Various sophisticated definitions of liberty are in fashion just now, particularly among collectivists of one variety or another: Mr. P. C. Gordon Walker, for instance, in his *Restatement of Liberty*, informs us that liberty is "an activity, an arduous pursuit of a goal that is never reached," and is to be pursued by a gigantic extension of the powers of the state, reaching into every household concern. Thinkers of this description share Humpty-Dumpty's conviction that when one deals with words, the question is simply who's to be master, that's all: and "liberty" can be made to mean whatever they want it to mean, by rewriting the dictionary. John Stuart Mill, valuing truth and accuracy, never allowed himself to sink into this treacherous game, which Orwell calls "Newspeak." Mill's little book, though hedged by many limitations and refuted in part by the return of Chaos and Old Night, is an honest endeavor to examine the quality which, after divine grace and right reason, lifts man above the brutes.

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THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The Affair Between Johns Hopkins and Owen Lattimore

The reinstatement of Owen Lattimore by Johns Hopkins was the necessary first step on the road to the rehabilitation that is obviously contemplated for the First Lady among American witches. But the reinstatement raises questions for our old friend, the Academic Community, that it will grow gray and haggard in the answering. Because when the Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington threw out the critical points in the indictment of Owen Lattimore, the Court said nothing at all about whether Lattimore had in fact intentionally served the Communist cause and lied about it to a congressional committee.

In sassing the McCarran Committee, in contradicting himself, in evading questions, in forgetting the unforgettable, Lattimore lighted a firecracker which has, some day, to go off. Judge Youngdahl handed the firecracker over to the professors. But they were so anxious to get down to the pressing business of hanging McCarthyism in effigy that they neglected even to make the effort to throw it back—to another grand jury (after a more carefully drawn indictment), to a congressional committee, to *anybody* who would sit on the thing for another two or three years. Had such a move been successfully undertaken, the fellows of Johns Hopkins could have exploited the fact to postpone once again their own determination on Owen Lattimore—for the unexceptionable reason that a case pending before one tribunal ought not to be prejudiced by the action of another tribunal. Now there is no excuse to hold back; yet, so far as we know, nothing is being done, nothing is contemplated. The professors don't know it, but they are holding the firecracker, which is smoldering away, and may go off one of these days.

That will happen when people realize that Judge Youngdahl's ruling that a jury of ordinary citizens cannot reliably pass on whether Mr. Lattimore was, over the years, subjectively in sympathy with the Communists, *was a ruling on that point and that point alone.* That ruling in no way affected the one question which Mr. Lattimore's academic peers are uniquely equipped to pass on: whether, in discussing the Far East, Mr. Lattimore was conscientiously watering the tree of knowledge; or whether, by discriminately nourishing here and neglecting there, he was engaged in bending the tree toward the glorious Soviet sun. If the former, then on with the rehabilitation. If the latter, then Owen Lattimore is not fit to teach students, to participate in academic life, to enjoy the immunities granted to scholars.

A considerable body of intelligent laymen who have gone over the 2,500-page IPR hearings concur with the unanimous verdict of a Senate committee, that Owen Lattimore had been a "conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." Still, according to practice, the decision affecting his academic career is the professors' to make. A number of them (e.g., Karl Wittfogel, Sidney Hook, David Rowe, Richard Walker) have arrived at a decision in harmony with the Committee's. But the relevant administrative decision is up to the fellows of Johns Hopkins to make. And they seem to think they can put it off indefinitely, or at least as long as they succeed in keeping the alumni—in Herman Hickman's phrase—sullen, but not mutinous.

Although the academicians seem sometimes to concentrate exclusively on what is *due* a teacher, (neglecting what the teacher owes his profession), everyone will agree, if pressed, that *something* is expected of a professor. Professional competence, for one. If one is a competeht student of the Far East, one must know something about the Far East, what has happened in the Far East, and what is happening in the Far East. (This has nothing to do with the question what would one *like* to see happen in the Far East, that being a matter of individual preference.) Does Professor Lattimore qualify?

Another thing: a professor is not supposed to be any less truthful than, say, his students. And that raises the question whether, as the McCarran Committee claimed the transcript establishes, Lattimore perjured himself.

And then, if one is a teacher in Pacific affairs, one is obliged to communicate to the student the facts about the Far Eastern situation in the absence of which one cannot intelligently pass judgment on Far Eastern affairs. Mr. Lattimore was once a teacher who overflowed with ideas about the Far East, and had the gift of knowing how to communicate them. Not satisfied to bombard his own students with the facts of Far Eastern life, he wrote numerous books, magazine articles and book reviews. In one book, *Solution in Asia,* Mr. Lattimore pressed an account of what was going on in the area in which Professor Lattimore specialized. His message was summarized on the jacket of the book itself, by no less faithful a reader than the publisher himself. He wrote:

> He [Lattimore] shows that all the Asiatic people are more interested in actual democratic practices such as the ones they can see in action across the Russian border, than they are in the fine theories of Anglo-Saxon democracies which come coupled with ruthless imperialism. . . . He inclines to support American newspapermen who report that the only real democracy in China is found in Communist areas.

If that is Mr. Lattimore's idea of what goes on in the Far East, is he an expert? And if he is an expert, and this is his reading, can he be communicating the truth?

What is at stake here is not a jail sentence for Mr. Lattimore. The fellows of Johns Hopkins haven't the power to incarcerate. But they have the power to exact compliance with the requirements of scholarship and personal probity that, they agree, qualify a man to teach and study under their roof. They are men with subtle minds, capable of making distinctions. They are confronted with an intellectual problem. Are they going to shirk it, begging a totally irrelevant *legal* technicality? Yes, they probably will. So long as the alumni remain only sullen.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

From Poetry to Bitter Fruit

RICHARD M. WEAVER

The inside story of the corruption of public school education has never been more poignantly told than in Joan Dunn's *Retreat from Learning: Why Teachers Can't Teach—A Case History* (New York: David McKay, $3.00). Miss Dunn, a young woman with ideals, decided to make teaching her career—partly because she had worked with children and liked them, and partly because she wished to bring to others her own natural delight in literature. After going through the various maneuverings necessary to get a post in the New York City school system, she showed up one Friday shortly after Labor Day at the high school to which she had been assigned.

A leap from the poetry of John Donne and Richard Crashaw, the subject of her college thesis, to an institution like that described here is about as great as any mortal could be expected to make. But she had the qualities of character and personality to make it, and for four years she observed modern public education from the firing line. Her book is an account of what she saw between that morning of hope and expectancy and the day she resigned, out of fatigue and disillusionment, to enter the happier world of journalism.

Only by a doubtful use of the term can this institution be called a school. A school may be defined, not too strictly, as a place where instruction is systematically imparted. Instruction could not be systematically imparted here—except in the case of a few honor classes and a few entering ones that had not been ruined by the school's atmosphere. Discipline and morale were practically non-existent. Classes turned into hour-long disputes between the teacher and individual students about students' "rights." The reading of comic books during recitation, insolent remarks about the teacher's appearance and personality, and muttered obscenities in the back of the room were regular features of each day.

It must be questioned also whether much of that which could be imparted was instruction. The pressure to use the discussion method with youngsters who had nothing to discuss except trivialities, or their own misbehavior; the willingness of school authorities to pander to the supposed interests of adolescents; the discouragement of healthful competition; and the practice of passing students merely for "being good" in the classroom naturally brought knowledge as such into disrepute. The resultant anti-intellectualism was, moreover, belligerent. "I ain't gonna read no book," was a general refrain.

These young Americans for democratic action were transforming what was supposed to be a school into a daily detention home for the lawless and the obstreperous.

Miss Dunn's analysis of the cause of this collapse will be challenged by no one who has followed the trend of "progressivism" in education. Heading the list is the "anti-formalism" of John Dewey, who applied his talents and longevity to wrecking the educational philosophy which had been built up through twenty-five centuries of classical and Christian experience. As a result of his influence, nothing is more pervasive in the doctrines of modern education than the notion that all forms and rules are evil. Yet all history and observation confirm the truth that men cannot exist together peaceably without the acceptance of certain formalizations of behavior and intercourse. If the schools are teaching that these things are wrong, they are spreading ignorance. Which is what many of us have been suspecting for a long while.

The schools began to betray their mission in society the moment they turned away from the principle that discipline lies at the heart of all education. Discipline was cast out because discipline may inspire fear, and nobody should be made afraid. (One hears the traditionalist in the rear of the teachers' meeting murmuring helplessly, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." But what can be done, now that "freedom from fear" has been made one of the pillars of the New Freedom?) Competition is out for the same reason. Far from helping to adjust them to their environment, these quack doctors of education are preparing their charges for something that never was on land or sea.

Compared with these fantastic doctrinaires, the founders of Utopian communities in the past were realists of a higher order. They all believed in the need of work, and most of them believed in the necessity of an overriding sanction through religion or moral commitment. Our leading public school theorists today believe in neither.

Their educational theory, to the extent that it is capable of coherent statement, sounds like a Wordsworthian version of Platonism. The child is father of the man; growing older is a process of forgetting original knowledge, so that the only thing for a teacher to do is stand by and let the students carry forward the work of education. And what is the real situation of the short-changed student? "He arrives at high school to learn, only to find himself greeted by teachers who worship him simply because he is young and ignorant while they themselves are fallen from that pristine state." It is little wonder that some of these impudent charlatans have proposed abolishing the fixed curriculum, as another march on the retreat from learning.

This is the bitter fruit of that theory vaingloriously termed "progressive

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education." It is, as Miss Dunn rightly points out, "materialist in premise and pragmatic in application." Behind the façade of larger buildings, better equipped gymnasiums, more efficient cafeterias, and an infinitude of bookkeeping for the teacher lies the fact that the schools have abjured all rational goals. The aim is no longer learning. The students are no longer scholars, but "citizens." And though a general program of secular education is supposed to have a "unifying influence," nothing is more apparent in this case than the lack of any kind of social cement. When appeals are made for loyalty, they are either in the name of something inexpressibly vague or something that doesn't exist. As the author pointedly says, "You cannot turn a child from the ways of crime by telling him that it is uncivic to rob a store, beat up a subway guard, or murder a member of a rival gang in a street war."

Many years ago H. L. Mencken, after reviewing a kind of credo voted on by a select group of educators, declared that the most humane thing he could recommend would be to take them out in the alley and knock them in the head. Anyone surveying the depth to which the high calling of education has been brought by these fakes today may well wish that the execution could be carried out. But they are not going to be killed. They are going to be saved from that by the very traditions and formalizations of order which they have worked so sedulously to undermine. Another remedy will have to be found.

Miss Dunn believes that we must abandon immediately all the nonsensical features of progressive education and begin again to instill in the child a basic moral sense. That, certainly, is the least we should settle for. But the exposures in this book prompt one further thought, which I am going to suggest, with apology for my recklessness. Is not this sagging of all values and this dispersal of aims somehow implied in the idea of public education? I ask whether we would not have produced a more thoughtful kind of literacy if we had found a way to support a system of private subscription schools in which children could be educated according to the religious or cultural principles espoused by their parents. On these terms, education would be a privilege, and not a "right." The educationally incorrigible would simply be dropped, instead of, as now, being allowed to set the tone of the school. And the scholars who remained would feel the upward pull of definite religious and cultural ideals. If that thought seems too odious for words to the advocates of increased public education, let them show cause why it is not so.

Remembrance of Oats Wild

A Treasury of Mississippi River Folklore, edited by B. A. Botkin. 620 pp. New York: Crown Publishers. $5.00

Last week, at a friend's house, I heard six or eight old barrelhouse piano rolls. They were the sort nickelodeons used to bang out in bars, and I myself, aged ten, used to pump out on my aunt's player piano. Now they have been reverently recreated on an instrument especially rebuilt for the purpose, recorded with scrupulous high-fidelity on a glossy LP, and issued with nostalgic program notes.

The same day, I began to look through this fascinating collection of Mississippi River poetry-in-the-raw, and it was the curator's touch on both —barrelhouse and folklore—that reminded me how abruptly, as a nation, we have grown up and are suddenly *nel mezzo del cammin,* entering our middle-age.

When a nation is young, heedless, lusty, it begets what we later call its folklore: ballads, tall tales, heroic legends, myths. It's all done in the heat of the moment, unintentionally, and the results, like family by-blows, have no legitimate status. Time passes. The begetters grow up, become self-conscious, law-abiding, prudent, consolidated. Then the wild oats are remembered, nostalgically, the way people dance the Charleston today; and finally scholars like Mr. Botkin gather, tidy up, and edit it all for the rest of us to read and ponder over.

The present collection is wonderful, though considering the quantity of folklore that has drained into the Mississippi Valley these past two centuries, I don't know how it could have been otherwise. Unlike the Deep South, New England, or even the Far West, where Mr. Botkin has panned for previous anthologies, the Mississippi region, stretching as it does from upper Wisconsin to the Gulf of Mexico, is incalculably rich in variety: ethnic, economic, topographic, climatic.

Nevertheless, no aspect of human life as risked, hunted, haunted or just plain lived within this vast area seems unrepresented. There are tales of cardsharpers, river pirates, boat races, zombies, of rivalries, revenge, courage, terror; of the moods and menaces of the river itself; of the "St. Louis Blues," Uncle Tom's Liza, Jim Bowie, yea, even the ubiquitous Congressman Davy Crockett "hisself."

But dominating all the more spectacular details is the deep, inexplicable effect of eternally flowing water on the imagination and bloodstream of everyone who lives on or near it. As one reminiscing lady told Mr. Botkin: "When we lived in Quincy, every night the whole family would just get up from the supper table and say, 'We'll just go out and look at the river.' "

It isn't any wonder that the most universally appealing book in American literature is still the one Mark Twain wrote about two boys drifting down this same river on a raft; or that one of T. S. Eliot's most beautiful poems remembers how its mysterious

. . . rhythm was present in the nursery bedroom,
In the rank ailanthus of the April dooryard,
In the smell of grapes on the autumn table,
And the evening circle in the winter gaslight.

ROBERT PHELPS

Urbane Reminder

Foreign Policy and the Democratic Process, by Max Beloff. 134 pp. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. $3.00

Some of our widely acclaimed writers have recently expressed doubts about their compatibility, reasoning more or less as follows: Are successful foreign policy and democratic institutions mutually incompatible? In order to make and judge foreign policy one needs extensive and precise informa-

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tion, a dispassionate attitude, and freedom from the pressures of public opinion. Hence it should be left to the professional diplomats who in conducting it should be hampered neither by Congress nor by the people nor by any democratically controlled agency.

Max Beloff's book is addressed to this and certain related problems of foreign policy under the American system of government. Writing as a foreigner familiar with our institutions, he has the advantage of approaching these questions from angles that cut across the by now customary alignment of positions on the American scene and are, nevertheless, authoritative. Thus he comes up with new and provocative observations, not less in point because expressed with the urbane tact of the Oxford professor, whose strongest criticism takes the form of a reminder that "the truth is perhaps less simple."

Mr. Beloff's book does not pursue a central thesis. The reader is left to draw the relevant conclusions for himself, by piecing together such insights as the following:

1. To expect a very high level of information about foreign affairs on the part of the electorate is utopian;

2. Information collected by professional experts is liable to be inaccurate if their frame of reference is too narrow for the job (as, for instance, the frame of reference of our diplomats reporting on China was Oriental civilization, but did not include world Communism);

3. Congress represents, in a more accurate sense than the Presidency, the American people in all its variety;

4. The American system can only function if the State Department can arrive at a working partnership with Congress;

5. In Executive-Congressional relations, we cannot expect foreign policy to stay on the bipartisan shelf, since differences over foreign policy, where they coincide with other divisions in society, will tend to seek an outlet through party channels;

6. The shortcomings usually blamed on democratic institutions abound in other systems of government also.

For many readers this may well add up to the conclusion that foreign policy in a democracy can be successful if it is *not* exclusively entrusted to the professional diplomats, if Congress is a full partner in the policymaking process, and if the issues are presented in the correct frame of reference. Information, on Mr. Beloff's showing, does not constitute the decisive qualification for the judging of foreign policy that some people would want us to believe. On the contrary, Mr. Beloff finds that in a democracy foreign policy is judged on two grounds: *the expectations of the future and the myths of the past.*

These expectations and myths are not "facts" in the League of Women Voters sense of the term, that is, what the intelligent citizen needs to know. They are broad assumptions, images of the world in which we live and of the significance of our environment for our destiny and values. Our foreign policy is democratic when the people, the Congress and the bureaucracy share a set of broad and realistic premises about the past and the future. It follows that the foremost task in this respect is to see to it that these premises are shaped in an honest way, and to keep a close public watch over the Administration's handling of the past as well as the future. If Beloff is right, one cannot brush aside the efforts of revisionist historians as needless agitation over bygone affairs, or level an accusing finger at those who insistently refuse to cry "peace, peace" when there is no peace.

GERHART NIEMEYER

Thoreau in Satin Slippers

The Letters of George Santayana, edited by Daniel Cory. 451 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50

The Mind of Santayana, by Richard Butler. 234 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $4.00

No little brightness fell from the air on that day in September 1952 when George Santayana died in Rome at the age of eighty-nine. His letters, edited with intelligence and loving care by Daniel Cory, will take a high place among the glories (major or minor, as you please) of American literature. From the first ones bearing the date 1886 to the last ones written nearly seventy years later, they possess a limpidity and charm, an intrinsic beauty, a searching honesty, a refreshing directness and unself-conscious naturalness, an aroma of graciousness and civility — qualities which, to borrow one of Santayana's phrases, may now be out of fashion but will always be in season.

Santayana's letters will never, of course, supplant the autobiographical volumes. But they are supplements and adornments of great price, and plainly reveal aspects of his character only vaguely suggested or entirely left to conjecture in the more formal narratives. They also throw a great deal of light upon the key ideas to be found in his many books.

In *The Mind of Santayana,* Father Butler has provided us not only with an invaluable memoir, based on many personal contacts with Santayana during the last several years of his life, but with a shrewd appraisal of Santayana's ultimate philosophic position as well. The mind of Santayana, as no one needs to be told, was quite a mind; and nobody is going to do justice to it in a few hundred pages. In concentrating upon Santayana's philosophy of essence, however, Father Butler has gone straight and sure to the heart of his subject's thought. And on the basis of Father Butler's study, and the many evidences of the letters, one would be justified, we believe, in asserting that Santayana erected a magnificent superstructure of enchanting metaphysical reflection upon private essences rather than upon "public philosophies" or orthodox religions.

Santayana once caustically observed to William James that "truly the Babel in which we live has nothing in it so respectable as to put on the defensive the highest traditions of the human mind." And Santayana, in his inimitable way, did just about everything that a preternaturally gifted human being can do for those traditions—except believe in them.

Santayana hunted with Plato and Aristotle, and ran with Epicurus, always, apparently, very much at his ease in the Lucretian void. He might be called, with some justice, a Thoreau of the decadence, a Thoreau in velvet dressing-gown and satin slippers, who substituted essences for eternities and almost succeeded in adding an ascetic dimension to classical hedonism. One cannot miss a constant awareness of the Tragic Sense of Life on Santayana's part, but throughout his writings it often wears

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a slightly Mardi Gras cast. Unlike Henry Adams, Santayana appears never to have been pursued by the Hound of Heaven or haunted by the Virgin.

Besides the obvious resemblances to Pater, Santayana also reminds us in some ways of Renan. But Santayana knew what Renan never learned: that Progress is at best an illusion and at worst a sham; and that Science is but one of the many grammars which we mortals employ in our puny efforts to see things as they are.

As the incomparable letters and Father Butler's incisive study make quite clear, Santayana had kindliness, even compassion, in his nature; but these virtues often seemed to be inextricably bound up with aloofness, and not infrequently with condescension and icy disdain (Edwin Arlington Robinson wrote to D. G. Mason in 1899: ". . . if Santayana ever cuts himself in your presence try to get some of his blood").

At a time like the present, however, when the canine mind is riding herd on humanity, it is somewhat reassuring to know that even this degenerate century could pay appropriate homage to a feline intelligence like Santayana. Though Clarence Day's race of Great Cats appears headed for extinction, let us hope that the breed, dead or alive, will always have champions and memorialists. The super-catmen will never see us home, but they can help show us how to spring ourselves from the man-kennels that our canine mentors are busy everywhere fashioning for us. JOHN ABBOT CLARK

Liberal Prejudices in Phrax

The Years of the City, by George R. Stewart. 567 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.50

This story of the foundation, flourishing, decline and final destruction of an imaginary Greek city, told through the lives of individuals in successive generations, is an exceptionally interesting and in parts absorbing book.

One may question the validity of some of the author's historical and political assumptions. But there is no doubt as to his scholarship or his knowledge of Greek history and literature, or his familiarity with the discoveries of modern archeologists. His account of the founding of the city he calls Phrax would serve for any of the colonies the Greeks planted from the Aegean to the Black Sea, and westward in Sicily, in Italy, and on the Mediterranean shores of what today constitutes France.

Stewart tells in fascinating detail what food, weapons, implements and livestock the settlers carried with them in their small ships through pirate-infested seas; what economic and other compulsions induced men, women and children to leave the comparative security of their mother cities for the hazards and hardships of founding new city-states on distant shores; how they overcame the opposition of the aboriginal inhabitants in their New Worlds by their superiority in weapons, discipline and guile, and drove those they dispossessed to become "Hillmen" in the interior; how they built the first wall of the city and their houses and temples, divided up the new lands, and codified the laws. He also shows how large a part religious observances played in the lives of the bold and hardy settlers who sacrificed to the gods in supplication or thanksgiving for every success achieved by their own efforts—in contrast to the attitude of later generations, which believed neither in the gods nor themselves.

This, however, is only one aspect of the story. The author of *The Years of the City* also traces the decline from the heroic days when valor in battle, or wise counsel in the Assembly of citizens, counted for more than aristocratic birth or comparative riches, through the mature years, when ease of living for the few contrasted with the landlessness and poverty of the many, and descendants of the Founding Fathers lacked the faith and courage to risk their lives for liberty, to the final days, two centuries after the foundation of Phrax, when their grandsons were unable to defend their city from foreign conquest and destruction.

In spite of the great merits of the book, it never quite comes alive either as fiction or imaginative history. The author lacks the poetic touch that enables Robert Graves in his *Homer's Daughter,* or *I, Hercules,* to carry us with him into the springtime of the Western world when intrepid and lusty Greeks sailed the wine-dark seas in search of adventure or gain, or to possess lands to cultivate and make fruitful, or in quest of the eternal verities which inspire "the burning heart of man and boy alike," in all ages. Perhaps Mr. Stewart is too much of a professor, or too rooted in the literature and stories of the American pioneers, whom his characters resemble in spite of his efforts to make them act and think and talk like ancient Greeks. Maybe this was his intention, since it is clear that his long book is intended as a moral tale. For when it comes to its middle sections any reviewer familiar with the facts of Greek history is bound to take exception to his distortion of the historical record in conformity with his latter-day "liberal" prejudices, or in deference to the prevailing opinion in American academic circles.

It is a matter of historical record that in most, if not all, Greek cities, tyrants came to power, temporarily or permanently, as demagogic leaders of the Have-Nots against the Haves. But Mr. Stewart's tyrant, Melas, is represented as having been enabled to destroy the Republican constitutional government of Phrax by persuading the leading citizens to put him in charge of a newly constituted police force to protect private property *against* the destitute or underprivileged citizens. His description of Melas and his methods is, moreover, patently designed to represent a Greek prototype of Senator McCarthy, and he goes so far as to picture his tyrant as coming to power by pretending to destroy a nonexistent plot by a party which he calls "The Distributors," which he seems to believe is the word the

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Greeks used for Communists. As against Mr. George R. Stewart's perversion or misreading of history one can cite the verdict of J. P. Bury who, in his *History of Greece,* writes that the tyrants "all performed the same function of overthrowing aristocracies." FREDA UTLEY

Family Squabble

The McCormick Reaper Legend: The True Story of a Great Invention, by Norbert Lyons. 217 pp. New York: Exposition Press. $4.00

The evidence collected by Mr. Lyons would indicate that the reaping machine, which really marked the beginning of mechanized farming, was invented by Robert McCormick, who "gave" the invention to his son, Cyrus. The portrayal of the conditions under which such machines were made and marketed a century and more ago is of mild interest, but the iterated denunciations of Cyrus make the reader feel that he has somehow blundered into a family squabble. R. P. O.

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Worry-Chaser

Earth in Upheaval, by Immanuel Velikovsky. 301 pp. New York: Doubleday and Company. $3.95

Ours is an age of apocalyptic dreams and political catastrophe. Given man's inveterate propensity to make the physical universe reflect his own moods, it was, perhaps, inevitable that our generation should revive in astronomy and geology the old doctrine of Catastrophism, which fell into general disfavor after the Napoleonic Era. Most of Velikovsky's data are commonplaces in geological textbooks; the novelty of his arguments lies in the proposition that a series of major cataclysms affecting most of the world occurred in historical times—the latest, indeed, as recently as 687 B.C.

This is, at best, just another hypothesis, but those who are convinced by it will properly infer that another upheaval of land and sea may be produced by the same causes this year, or next year—and they will surely cease to worry about such comparative trifles as the danger of playing with atomic firecrackers. R. P. O.

THE 'TIMES' SLAYS A DRAGON

(*Continued from p.* 12)

Times and their efforts to penetrate it.

The Internal Security Subcommittee will be abused so long as it persists in probing deeply the Communist conspiracy in a nation whose opinion-makers simply refuse to understand the extent or the nature of the conspiracy, or the success with which the Communists from time to time exert pressure even on men and organizations that are staunchly anti-Communist.

And as for the *New York Times,* it will strike out against the committee in the future, as it has in the past. It will unquestionably and unquestioningly defend future Owen Lattimores, as it has defended Owen Lattimore in the past. It will distort the activities of working anti-Communists, as it has in the past. And it will solemnly invite to its columns men who rant irresponsibly about America's reign of terror, again in the future, as it has in the past. It will continue to trade on a reputation for fairness, earned years ago, to enable it to smear men like Eastland, Jenner and Sourwine, and get lionized for doing so.

Well, perhaps the moment *has* come for heroic action. It is up to Senator Eastland and his colleagues to establish that the *New York Times* has not yet acquired the power completely to immobilize a Senate committee. Defiance in the teeth of powerful opinion-makers calls, in a politician, for nothing short of heroism. The Senators can count on whatever modest support NATIONAL REVIEW can give them. That doesn't make *us* heroes, understand; we don't have to be re-elected (except by our subscribers), and anyway, we can take the *New York Times—any* day. For the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW, it's like swatting flies.

THE FIRING OF HERBERT FUCHS

(*Continued from p.* 15)

over my account of the interview in order to "check the facts." The reason given was that NATIONAL REVIEW owed him a "courtesy" inasmuch as he had consented to reveal to us, for the first time, the details of the university's position. I agreed to the request.

In the second interview, I showed Dr. Anderson a draft of the article, including the chronology of events, the account of the interview with him, and the conclusions: I informed him that I had not yet written up my interview with Professor Fuchs. As he reviewed the chronology and the portions of the report that "purport to quote" him and state his position, Dr. Anderson suggested eight revisions, all of a minor character. In none of the eight instances did Dr. Anderson allege that he had been misquoted. He said merely that the unrevised statements did not adequately express the thoughts he had wished to convey. Accordingly, all eight revisions were made, in compliance with his expressed wishes, and so appear in the article.

Dr. Anderson read the interview portions of the report in an amiable spirit, and appeared to approve it, with the revisions. When, however, he turned to the conclusions, his mood abruptly changed. With some heat, he characterized the conclusions as "nonsensical" and "ridiculous," and stated that he would deny the "authenticity" of the entire report. L. B. B.

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